MOVEMENT – 1974 – FORWARD (1974)

Correspondence, Journals & Documents – Socialist League / Forward Group

**Archival Items – 'On File' –copies available at National Archives, Ottawa*

1974

1974-01Jan20	RD letter to Ettie Bitzer; re: his full-time job
1974-02Feb5-1	RD handwritten note to ISR (SWP, New York)
1974-02Feb5-2	RD handwritten note to International, IMG (Britain)
1974-02Feb18	Letter of resignation of 18 members of LSA/YS
1974-02Feb99a	RD letter to Nic, Vancouver, re: reaction to our resignations
1974-03Mar13a	Debate on Nationalism between Germain and Horowitz (A.Levi)
1974-03Mar22a	*SL Flyer*: Defend the victims of the Chilean military coup
1974-03Mar22c	*(RMG flyer) Solidarity with the Chilean resistance*
1974-03Mar22d	*Free the political prisoners*
1974-03Mar98a	*(5pp) (RMG) the argentine workers must not be crushed*
1974-03Mar99a	*SL Flyer*: Banfield, SDS and Free Speech
**1974-April*	*"The Socialist League and the Struggle for a Socialist Canada"*
1974-04Apr6a	SL letter to LSA protest LSA conduct in CCLA meetings
1974-04April7a	***Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners***
1974-04April7b	***(LSA) Committee sponsors – You can help***
1974-04Apr9a	Flyer: Rally in Defence of Soviet Political Prisoners
1974-04Apr9b	Letter from Jiri Pelikan to SL re: Defence conference
1974-04Apr9c	News Release re Ukrainian dissidents; psychiatry abuses

1974-04Apr13	SL Flyer: We're celebrating – a get acquainted party!
1974-04Apr98	LSA-IBv5n2: AY reply RD: NDP is bourgeois(?)
1974-04Apr99a	Protest Appeal Court Decision, Drop all Morgentaler charges
1974-04Apr99b	Defend Dr. Morgentaler! Event dates to remember
1974-04Apr99c	Clip*: Toronto Star*: "Reversal of jury disquieting"
1974-04Apr99d	Clip: *Toronto Globe & Mail*: "An affront to the people"
1974-05May3a	*SL Flyer*: Energy crisis?
1974-05May3b	(continued) signed Socialist League
1974-05May9	Note: "Don't miss this one" report of first SL forum
1974-05May9-2a	Announcing the Socialist Forum, to be held at:
1974-05May9-2b	Socialist League: (four) Study Groups
1974-06June00a	TPT statement on LSA federal election campaign
1974-06June6a	Forward Forums: Quebec, Alienation, Inflation
**1974-06June15*	*SL pamphlet ''Against Sectarianism"*
1974-07July6	RD letter to Archie Callaghan, Nfld., re: *Forward* launched
1974-07July10	Socialist Forum: results of federal election
1974-07July15	Letter from H. Dowson withdrawing from union election
1974-07July31a	Camp Poundmaker Education relaxation weekend
1974-07July31b	Two discussions on nationalism plus CLC manifesto
1974-07Jul-Vol.1	Elect the NDP – Free Dr. Morgentaler
1974-07Jul-fwd-1-2	Reforms won by NDP, socialist answers way forward
1974-07Jul-fwd-1-3	The freak-out and fall-out over support of the NDP
1974-07Jul-fwd-1-4	Rank & file revolt at CLC–nationalism spurs autonomy

1974-07Jul-fwd-1-5 Government bill imperils Quebec language rights

1974-07Jul-fwd-1-6 BC women call mock parliament

1974-07Jul-fwd-1-7 Should Canada stay in NATO?

1974-07Jul-fwd-1-8 Argentine militants murdered – Forum series in Toronto

**1974-July-fwd-1* *Socialist opposition in USSR –workers join intellectuals (file)*

**1974-July-fwd-1* *Portuguese demand freedom for colonial peoples (on file)*

**1974-July-fwd-1* *Trotskyist leaders speaks at mass rally in Lisbon (on file)*

1974-08Aug22 SL Introductory classes on Marxist economics

1974-09Sept1 *Forward* Fund Drive Co-ordinator letter to readers

1974-09Sept11a RD hand note: quotes on the "independent press"

1974-09Sept11b RD notes: "Sent re exchange" subscriptions

1974-09Sept-fwd-2 Kenora Indian struggle sparks solidarity action

1974-09Sep-fwd-2 Ont & BC NDP rallies – Women's rights resolutions

**1974-Sep-fwd-2* *Daycare threatened by cutbacks, by Pat Schultz (on file)*

1974-09Sep-fwd-2-3 Edit–Pull Canadian-UN troops out of Cyprus! Fund drive

1974-09Sep-fwd-2-4 Where is the working class at? The NDP election results

1974-09Sep-fwd-2-4 Where is the working class at? (G.D.)

1974-09Sep-fwd-2-5 (BC) NDP women's Assembly (Rosemary Brown sets tone)

1974-09Sep-fwd-2-6 Morgentaler faces court (on abortion services)

1974-09Sep-fwd-2-7 On the contrary—student movement far from dead

1974-09Sep-fwd-2-8 Protests in Quebec—Language Bill passed

1974-09Sep-fwd-2-9 Toronto Socialist League holds classes on Marxism

1974-10Oct4a Socialist Forum public meetings every second Friday nights

1974-10Oct4b	SL Series on Problems of Vanguard Party, alternate Fridays
1974-10Oct6	Letter from John G. & Regula M. resigning from LSA
1974-10Oct-fwd-3	Morgentaler confronts Supreme Court showdown
1974-10Oct-fwd-3	CIA overthrow of Allende—Canada complicit?
1974-10Oct-fwd-3	Canada's branch plant imperialism (RD)
1974-10Oct-fwd-3	US profs hired – U of T student reps quit
1974-10Oct-fwd-3	'Accountability' key at BC NDP Convention
**1974-Oct-fwd-3*	*Canada's snow job in Vietnam–book review*
1974-10Oct-fwd-3	Ontario NDP meets – undercurrents at Sudbury
1974-10Oct-fwd-3	For a radical, revitalized New Democratic Party
**1974-Oct-fwd-3*	*CCF-NDP leader M.J. Coldwell (obituary)*
1974-10Oct-fwd-3	Reform Alliance continues campaign for quality daycare
1974-10Oct-fwd-3	Gay human rights are not protected
*1974-Oct-fwd-3	American socialist fighter (obit. James P. Cannon)
1974-10Oct-fwd	Fund drive moves forward – Toronto forum series
1974-11Nov8	Socialist Forum: RD speaker “Upsurge in labor struggles”
1974-11Nov11a	Letter from Vancouver, signed Cynthia & Maurice F.
1974-11Nov18	SL letter inviting members and friends to a Conference
1974-11Nov19a	Forward Group Tasks & Perspectives report- G.Deutsch
1974-11Nov19b	SL letter: declining support to LSA civic candidates
1974-11Nov22	Socialist Forum: “Moroz & the struggle in the Ukraine”
1974-11Nov-fwd-4	NDP candidates needed to win labor control of City Hall
1974-11Nov-fwd-4	Morgentaler & the Abortion Repeal Struggle

1974-11Nov-fwd-4	Morgentaler and the abortion repeal struggle
1974-11Nov-fwd-4	Mass protest against Bill 22 (for a French Quebec)
1974-11Nov-fwd-4	Ottawa Caravan sets new stage for Indian movement
1974-11Nov-fwd-4	Waffle faces impasse – What strategy for socialists?
*1974-Nov-fwd-4	Soviet Russia – 57 years later (on file)
*1974-Nov-fwd-4	BC-NDP Manifesto –'Turn towards socialism'
*1974-Nov-fwd-4	'Social contract' no way for (British Labour Party) (on file)
*1974-Nov-fwd-4	Citizen review Board to uproot police brutality
*1974-Nov-fwd-4	Fund drive goes over the top
1974-11Nov-fwd	Maurice Spector, pioneer Canadian socialist
1974-11Nov-fwd	Maurice Spector on the national question
1974-12Dec00a	Toronto Labor Council transcript: Morgentaler support
1974-12Dec5a	*Varsity* article: “Blanco: Chile needed true revolution”
*1974-12Dec28	Socialist Educational Summer Camp (SWL Australia) (file)
1974-12Dec-fwd-5-	New turn in labor's ranks by youth, inflation
*1974-12Dec-fwd	Action not jingles in International Women's year
1974-12Dec-fwd-5	Building trades brass sabotage Canadian autonomy
1974-12Dec-fwd-5	Cross-country with the NDP – 'Priority' issue
1974-12Dec-fwd-5	NDP manifestoes bare key problem (BC, Ontario)
*1974-Dec-fwd-5	Gov't in back pocket of US Levi blue jeans (R. Dowson)
*1974-Dec-fwd-5	Government aids takeover, bankrolls US giants
1974-12Dec-fwd-5	Waffle at the crossroads – What program and strategy?
1974-12Dec-fwd-5	Ex-NDP left for Marxist party – Waffle leader statement

1974-12Dec-fwd-5	Waffle at the crossroads—program & strategy (J.Morgan)
1974-12Dec-fwd-5	American takeover of the mind – Book Review
*1974-Dec-fwd-5	PLO & economic crisis undermine Zionism–By H.Kopyto (file)
1974-12Dec-fwd-5	Quebec labor paper reviews left (*Quebec-Presse* study)
1974-12Dec-fwd-5	Toronto civic elections show need of NDP label
1974-12Dec-fwd-5	League forum on Soviet prisoner Moroz
*1974-Dec-fwd-5	Gov't policy scapegoats immigrants, by Dale Ritch (on file)
1974-95a	"Vote Hugh Dowson—Trustee" – UAW Douglas aircraft
1974-96	Flyer: Palestinian self-determination & Jewish survival
1974-97a	*Undated flyer found in 1974*: Metro Centre: What's at stake?
1974-97b	(continued) High standard public housing, signed SL
1974-98	Undated SL flyer: Inflation is no joke?
1974-99	R.D. Notes to self: could anticipate unity of Cdn Trotskyists?

Janaury 20, 1974
Ross Dowson
#2311
40 Homewoood Ave
Toronto MAY 2K2

Ettie Bitzer
60 St George Street
Kitchener

Dear Ettie;

Just a note to assure you that I received the very interesting photographs that you sent me. I have turned them over to my photographer friend who will make several copies of them. He tells me that he can do a better job than the originals are now in. He can touch out the wear marks and make them slighlty more ~~sssssssss~~ contrasty. Well, we will see. He appreciates their rarity and will look after them. In fact they actually are very ~~eeeee~~ examples of photogaphy--particularly the picturesoof your Starr grandfather and grandmother taken in Toronto. There isno date on them. It might be worthwhile sometime, if you are able in anyway, to try to estimate their dates. And what about ~~mmmm~~your fathers side. Now that I think of it I have only heard about the Starr side. Well we certainly now have a family tree for the wall here at #2311

Things are quiet down here in the big city. I am working very long hours--- a six day week--and I punch in at 7 o'clock. I have a part time job at the old Victoria Hotel on Yonge. I need the money and the credits in the unemployment insurance fund. At the end of this month I am applying for a government council grant to do research in the early history of the labor movement. The odds are I think very good that I will get it. On Tuesday I have to have supper with a an experienced hand in getting these grants up at York University.

So I havent had time to work on my apartment--toput the very sharp louvred wall I want to put up. But last weekend I did manage towork out with Lois the rough plans for a sleeping cottage up at Poundmaker.

I will return the pictures first opportunity and I just may be able to arrange a jaunt up to Kitchwamer to do it personally

sincerely

Ross Dowson

Ross Dowson
2311 — 401 Homewood Ave
Toronto M4Y 2K2
Canada

Feb 5/74

OSR

Dear Comrades

Would you please enter a 1 year subscription on my behalf to be sent to the above address ×

Would you start with the Feb/74 issue ×

✓ Looking back on my file I am missing the Sept/73 issue Vol 34 No 8

I would appreciate receiving a copy of this issue — You could either bill me separately or deduct one issue off my subscription which is possibly more convenient

with socialist greetings

Ross Dowson

Enclose find a MO for 5.00 / 1.00 for outside US

Feb 5 74

Ross Dowson #2311
40 Homewood Ave
Toronto M4Y 2K2
CANADA

(Britain-ed.)

International
SIAG

Dear Comrades

I would like to fill out or make up a complete file of International

I have the following issues

Vol 1 No 1
Vol 1 No 3
Vol 1 No 6

Vol 2 No 1
Vol 2 No 2

I would very much appreciate it if you could fill in the missing issue - send them to me & mail enter a subscription for me commencing with Vol 2 No 3 and send me a bill. I will remit payment immediately

fraternally
Ross Dowson

Old Mole
Dear Comrades

Would you kindly send me a copy of the following issues. (your pagers!)

No. 1
No. 3
No. 6

Please $1 to cover costs

fraternally
Ross Dowson

Toronto, Feb. 18th, 1974

To the Members of the LSA/LSO and YS/LJS:

With this statement, the undersigned, in their majority long-standing members, announce their resignation from the League for Socialist Action/La Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, and consequently the Labour Party Tendency.

As partisans of a Fourth International, and as activists in the struggle to build a revolutionary socialist vanguard organization, which alone can assure the victory of the socialist revolution in Canada, we have concluded that we can no longer achieve this aim within the confines of the LSA/LSO or YS/LJS.

The LSA/LSO has degenerated into a sect. This is the result of adaptation to the ultra-left pressures of the new radicalization which have developed both in the Canadian political arena and which are tearing at the vitals of the component organizations of the Fourth International.

This sectarian course first found overt political expression some two years ago in the dumping of the 1968 convention resolution, Canada-U.S. Relations - a socialist viewpoint. This document had enabled us to meet the challenge of the anti-imperialist sentiment developing in an anti-Canadian capitalist direction, which placed us in a position to meet the challenge of the development of a new Canadian nationalism. This stands in stark contrast to our present position which has made it impossible to relate to this key aspect of the current radicalization.

This sectarian trend has since encompassed all the historic positions of Canadian Trotskyism. Some of the basic positions of Vive Le Quebec Libre have been revised. Our work in Women's Liberation has become unhinged. And finally, our long-standing orientation to the NDP, the touchstone of non-sectarian revolutionary politics in Canada, has been subverted.

As members of the Labor Party Tendency, we challenged the central leadership of the LSA/LSO to halt the clear trend towards a sectarian revision of our strategic orientation to the mass labor party. In face of their denial of any such change we provided the 1974 plenum with a document detailing the sectarian drift of Labor Challenge, as well as the failure of the organizational and executive secretaries to defend our positions against ultra-left attacks on our NDP orientation, both from the Revolutionary Communist Tendency and from the international leadership.

At that plenum a major figure in the central leadership of the League openly attacked the 1970 convention document. Among other things, he contended it led to misunderstandings that are "in large part responsible for the long record of confusion and adaptation of our work in the NDP, particularly in the Waffle experience." Also the concept was introduced and actually adopted by the CC, that the NDP, "a social democratic labor party", upon election, is not a labor government challenged by the contradictions of having to administer a government serving in a bourgeois state apparatus. Although we urged its election to office as a party, in government, as a "bourgeois government", we are irreconcilably opposed to it. The result of this thinking is to make our task of winning the working class from reformism more difficult, if not impossible.

This wholesale abandonment of our political positions in a sectarian direction has had its parallel in the revision of our organizational concepts.

The leadership of the League has taken on the character of a clique. With the development of internal differences it has generated an extreme factionalism. It has become impossible to hold out any hope of influencing and halting the plunge into sectarian isolation.

For our part we declare we stand on the general line of all the basic documents of the movement and its general practice up to and including the 1968 and 1970 convention positions, and including the 1971 plenum document entitled, The NDP and the Waffle.

We consider ourselves to be continuing in the tradition of the Canadian Trotskyist movement. We intend to move forward and develop these traditions in a new organization. Hopefully, as a result of future political experiences, we will once again find ourselves in a united Trotskyist movement. Until then, life itself will be the judge of our political paths.

Signed:

Gord D	Wayne R	Lynda D
Jim M	Roz D	Alice K
Julie T	Abie W	Jim C
Pat S	John D	Jane C
Ross D	Ellie K	Harry K
Dale R	Gus T	Sabena K

Correspondence with

James Mitchell, Apt. 2205
40 Homewood Ave.,
Toronto, Ont. M4Y 2K2

924-9860

Sunday Feb (1974)

Vancouver

Dear Nic

It was very good to hear from you via phone on Thursday nite. You broke into the last meeting of what had been the steering committee of the Labor Party Tendency just as it was discussing the impact of the resignations here in Toronto. Needless to say I often thought of you and your possible reactions as the tendency was going about its work. I was hoping you would have got to the plenum.

The response to our resignations here in Toronto has been beyond our expectations All but three of the LPT comrades here in Toronto decided to carry on outside the structures of the LSA-YS.--all but Claire, Regual and Marylyne. John Glenn and Charlie Lee came in but didn't come to any conclusions on that last Sunday nite. John is teaching near Brantford and has only established some kind of working relations with the Kitchener comrades. Charlie who is the key man in St Catharines has been tied up in school work and this has put the branch on a minimum level of activity---the youth there despite ecstatic reports are a holding operation. John and Charlie will be making he move in the next week or so. John G was hoping that their Regula-Claire-Marilyne would be prepared to carry on the tendency but it was quite obvious there were not willing. Claire thinks there is something still to be gained by carrying the fight—which she has been doing every branch meeting to no effect. Regual has pulled back drastically retaining a minimal relationship to the movement which 334 accepts as she continues to pay a big pledge—she thinks that it is not possible to start in the process of rebuilding , she questions the capactiy of the LPT presennel. Marilyne is somewhat out of it. My impression is that all three will tend to drop out of things however the progress of our operation may well change things.

The moral of the comrades is very high--one of them said they feel the elation that prisoners must when they break out of jail. For most of the comrades the past period has been one of intense frustration. Our first meeting tomorrow night will no doubt see us decide to get a headquarters, probably decide to start looking for a ~~bookstore~~ bookstore space, move towards the purache of an offset press and set up an interim executive. The comrades see considerable possibilities what with the Marxist institute classes attracting 200 to 250 independent Marxists and the new Waffle classes getting underway--first speaker is our old comrade Vriginia Batten --now now on staff at York campus. Last fallthey attracted an avesage of about 350 persons. Hard to say how many comrades will be in attendance. We have agreed that we will accept all LSAers who agree with our statement. John V and Irwe said they are coming. Harry P if not this week,next. We have already accepted Steve H and Zane . The day after a former YSer who quit to join Waffle before our Cdn nationalism debate even got under way came to see me and told me that one of the Wafflers who considers himself a Leninist whith whom I had quite an argument a few months ago wants to discuss us-- and so does Bert Kasser and his wife who when they left Ottawa and came to Toornot passed in and out of the operation here. An RMGer told one of the comrades that we will have forty comrades. Wall we will see.

Before we even had the statement typed up on Tuesday ,at about 11 in the morning Gary and Joan M knocked on my door. I dont know how they heard. They were obviously much upset, shocked. Gary started off by talking about how this was totally different from the RCT pu l out--thatmany of them had little or nothing to do with the Cdn Trotskyist movement--but the LPT was composed of basic cadre of the movement. They seemd to be incredulous and kept asking Jim and I what we wanted--would we see someone from the States etc etc. Gary gave about a 45 minute report and denunciation at the Tuesday night branch meeting. Marilyne said nothing. Regual missed this whole part of the meeting and Claire absented herself. I gather that only Darrell F and Bea B spoke the rest were stunned apartnely. The Wednesday branch was attended by Hugh

He has supported us all along and has even been pushing us to pull out--he hasn't participated in the tednency because he doesn't want to be bothered about the process. Kate gave the report. Hugh said it was a comniation of sorrow and anger--the split was ill times, premature, unconsidered--expressions about my possibly straightening out --mixed with denunsiation. Vern spoke against us with some anger--he came out behind us at the plenum--he took them on for dumpoing the NDP orientation and now if there is to be a discussion he will have few if any allies.

Of course there willnot be a discussion or at least a useful one---it was apparent at the plenum which the PC challenged some of the tendency to attend them when we took it up agreed that some of us speak and then when a hueph of us decided to move in tried to pull out.

The plenum made our tendency document completely irrelevant--with all its attempts by using labor challenge articles to shw we had changed our line. The plenum openly decalred the change in line. Art, Gary's and John speeches about the NDP government being a bourgeois government and not in an academic sense but a government not ~~there~~ essentially different from a Liberal-Tory- Ss governmentn--one we oppose, and drawing all the tactical conclusions caused Ernie Tate and Vern to take the floor. Ernie's speech was very good. John's report was adopted. Then Dick ~~unintelligible~~ took on the LPT document above all for its standing on an repeating the line of the 1970 document. All their contributions made a pharse of their claims that the line had not been changed and that they supported the 1070 document except perhaps for a few terminological matters.

When they talked about publishing some of my extemporaneous parrying of the heckling and interpjections from the floor I moved that they publish Vern and Ernie's contributions and particularly Dicks, they refused by shoving them off to the Bureau. Of course it has been obvious through the pages of LC and from discussions of aspects on the Toronto branch filor that the whole matter has been decided and it does not matter whrthr they go through some kind of internal discussion or not--the discussion has already taken place and the relationship of forces determined. And the LPTers see no purpose in going through the forms with its vicious factionalism.

We are starting off with the big task in much better shape than I had even dreamed. Here in Toronto where all the discussions take place and on a series of different planes--the PC, the Metro exec, branch executives and branches and even committees, the lines have been clear. The shock of the leadership can only be explained by their new longstanding reification of us---they have not see us for a longtime as human beings who have thoughts, feelings and alternatives but only seen us as things, trapped things, bothersome things but just things.

Gus has really developed over the past few months. Harry K has at last finished his law examines and is raring to go--Gord Doctrow is talking about getting things straightened out so he can go on staff. I am of course not---they are going to lead. I am hoping to get a Canada Council Grant so I can wrie the history of the movement. Two of the leading specialists in the field who the government will consult are 100% for me --I will know by June. I am puting in for another grant just in case. My going back into the work force has finally got me on unemployment insurance.

It is clear what everyone should do here in Toronto---come to us. I had a talk with Charlie and he now has decided to go through a modest experience in St Kitts--they only got the document a few days ago--although Dave Dorie as soon as he read it asked to joing the tendency--as we dossilved it. What has been the response there to the LPT document--and now since it is not probable that they took you aside and told you what happened but told you through the branch floor and an attack on us--what is the response. Maurice told me in a letter of severa days ago that Bob Sims has dropped out and so has Ken. We have not got eandd reports of many points but I gatther the Vancouver operation has had its difficulties of late. Maurice gave me the impression that you have not been so active probably because of personal problems.

Here we have an operation--we have the only comrade on York and we have more and qualitatively more able comrades on Toronto campus. We have unionist and probably

will pick up more--we have some comrades in Baffle and of course in the NDP. Charlie projects a series of forums in St Catherines-Niagara area which we can carry with him. We would hate to see comrades just drop away from the league. We are off to a good start and we want connections and we want to help develop connections into something substantial .We have been projecting a journal in the fall but it seems to me that the response is such that we will have to move much more quickly to a modest paper.

My feeling is that the CO will not let anyone who expresses sympathy and support of us continue on in the LSA/YS. They are extremely factional and besides what have they to gain--they can only lose . So what are the possibilities in Vancouver of pulling something --even a modest something together. in someway, within the forces of the LSA/YS. Then too what about the persons who have dropped off. Are any of them recoverable. We are going to revive people here in Toronto, but what about Vancouver

ithout some kind of picture it is difficult to suggest that you should at once identify yourself with us --resigns from the league. It might be better-if it is possible in the situation to hold on and see what impact our action has, not only in the LSA-YS but among peripheral elements. Our action is going to have some impact on the RMG --not on the Smileys or Pedoloch's but on Bob McCarthy, Stan Sinclair, Gandle--at the founding convention they found themselves in a tendency--and most of them have pulled somewh t to the side. Do you know Norm Penner. I was in a bad situation when some of these came around and didn't feel I could move around them and enable them to take advantage of dofferences in the LSA. It is possible they are rethinking things eve though from Davis's document they consider us on the right. They consider us principled I hear they talk of us having 40 persons. Bob Sherwood of Labor Action(Lambertists) hurried over to see us. We met him fraternally. It appears that Gary told him all about the resignations and suggested that he had some connection with us. They have our line on the NDP. I hear that Paul Kouri has taken a leave of abse ce from the LSO in Montreal. Phil instead of goi g on to Edmonton is staying on there.

Charlie Lee has been asked to come over to Toronto for a PC meeting tomorrow nite --probably the congress delegates will be back then--so we will get a clearer picture of how they see things and the response in Toronto by the Tuesday and Wednesday meetings.

Looking forward to hearing from you as soon as possible so we can discuss what to do--hope this note has been useful. I am enclosing a copy of a contribution that a couple of comrades made to the LPT discussion. I havent had a chance to read it myself but I can get another copy. It may be useful.

comradely

Ross Dowson
40 Homewood Ave, #2311
Toronto M4Y 2K2

phone 416-961-4554
you can alays phone direct as I am the only answerer.

Box N-A SL-1974

a-

DEFEND THE VICTIMS OF THE CHILEAN MILITARY COUP

Tonight's meeting is an important demonstration of protest against U.S. imperialism's engineered military coup in Chile and of solidarity with its thousands of victims. It is one of several assemblies that have been held so far in the Toronto area which must now lead us to an ever more united and powerful campaign to aid the Chilean people in their struggle against the repression there and result in the establishment of an open door immigration policy by Canada for all those who seek refuge from the terror of the Pinochet regime.

The Canadian government has played a shameful satellitic role to Washington in recognizing and lending underhand support to the Chilean Junta. Despite the democratic pretensions of the Liberal government, Canada moved with all haste to grant diplomatic recognition to the dictatorship - only 18 days passed before the government of this country recognized the Junta.

The cynical and reactionary stance of the Canadian Ambassador to Chile, Andrew Ross, has been exposed. With the publication of the secret telegrams between him and the ministry in Ottawa, we have been treated to an inside view of the politics of imperialism.

Faced with the fact that, with the exception of tiny Cuba, the non-capitalist states have been reluctant to accept refugees and have closed their embassies in Chile, asylum by other countries is even more crucial.

So far the record of Canada has been scandalous. The first reaction of Andrew Ross and the Embassy in Chile was to bar its doors against those seeking asylum. International concern and protests at home tempered their overt support of the Junta. But the protests and pressure must not cease - the record shows that they have not really changed in their basic purpose.

As of the end of February over 12,000 refugees have applied to come to Canada. Almost 7,000 have been rejected, only 1,050 had been accepted. Government officials have admitted to practicing political discrimination and the RCMP collaborates with the Junta on the spot to screen out political 'undesirables'. The political bias is clear when we contrast this to the fact that Canada admitted 30,000 Hungarians in '56 and 11,000 Czechs in '68 without any screening at all. They even provided free transportation and some subsidy until these refugees found jobs! In Chile some 2,000 refugees have withdrawn their applications to come to Canada because of the red tape and discrimination

and the terrible slowness of the screening procedures. Only a few hundred had actually got here five months after the coup. We must demand an open door policy toward refugees trying to escape to this country. This must become part of the program of all who are serious about democratic rights and social progress.

While there is little doubt as to who were the chief forces behind the coup, Wall Street and the Chilean bourgeois reaction, there are widely differing analyses as to why the most rooted and widebased labor and socialist movement in all South America fell so disastrously before the terror of the military.

For our part, we of the Socialist League, see the class-collaborationist politics of the Unidad Popular as being instrumental in the disarming of the working class and peasantry, committed as its forces were to the concept of the parliamentary path to socialism. It staked everything, as did the German Social Democrats before them when confronted by Hitler, on the hope that the Chilean capitalist class would conform to the rules of parliamentary democracy and not resort to the police and the military. In vain!

Today in Chile the forces of repression make no differentiation between the liberal democrat, the supporters of the Communist Party, the left or the right of the Socialist Party, Trotskyists, the partisans of the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) etc.

The coup is a tragic defeat for the entire left of Chile, indeed for the entire Latin American revolution and the struggle for social change across the world. Their martyrs are our martyrs.

The allocation of aid to the victims of the coup must not be fractured by political partisanship. Assemblies that provide a platform for Chilean defence and that in any way draw lessons of the meaning of this disaster must also be free from sectarian exclusionism. We must hear from and give aid to all the victims of the repression in Chile.

ALL OUT SUPPORT TO THE POLITICAL PRISONERS

AGAINST OTTAWA'S SCREENING - OPEN THE DOORS TO ASYLUM IN CANADA

END CANADA'S COMPLICITY IN U.S. IMPERIALISM'S SUPPORT OF THE JUNTA

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE
85 King St. E.
Toronto
363-6755

March 22, 1974

(c.1974)

SOLIDARITY WITH THE CHILEAN RESISTANCE

¡SOLIDARIDAD CON LA RESISTENCIA CHILENA!

Nearly six months have passed since the bloody coup d'etat in Chile. The brutal repression continues: 20,000 are dead, 40,000 are interned in prisons and concentration camps where the junta practices its torture techniques; hundreds of thousands of workers have been fired and are without jobs; the cost of living has soared by 1400%.

The coup was the only logical answer for the local bourgeoisie and its imperialist allies in the face of escalating militancy on the part of Chilean workers and peasants -- many of whom had seriously begun to challenge the 'acceptable' framework of bourgeois democracy, through land occupations, industrial cordons, and mass demonstrations. What was at stake in Chile was not simply a national revolution but, in fact, the possibility of a continental revolution. The coup and the subsequent barbarity of the junta, is a sign that the international bourgeoisie will stop at nothing to maintain class privilieges and capitalist exploitation in Latin America.

The initial heroic resistance after the coup was followed by a strategic retreat in order to consolidate, both politically and militarilly, the forces needed to launch the long-term resistance to the junta's regime. The Chilean left has been organizing a united front to mount the offensive in the coming period. Sectors of the Socialist Party, the MIR, etc., are participating in the work of organizing the population for the eventual civil war. One thing is clear, the myth of the peaceful road to socialism has been shattered once more. The Chilean people will not accept a return to 'democracy' a la Frei -- they have already paid too dearly for the concessions that they accorded to their local bourgeoisie and the international monopolies. Whatever the final regroupment may consist of, we must be ready to support, politically and materially, the organization fighting to build the new socialist society.

The organizations aiding the Chilean resistance through various campaigns have a responsiblity to both defend the victims of repression, to raise funds for material aid, and to publicize the growing resistance movement. In order to smash the lies of silence from the capitalist media and inspire the development of a unified movement of solidarity with the Chilean resistance, the dissemination of knowledge about the resistance and the mobilization against the repression are critically important.

Those doing solidarity work must also understand the imperialism is not just American in Chile. Among other powers, Canada has been very busy. The 18-day rush to recognize the junta was, as Andrew Ross pointed out, to protect Javelin, Canada-ITT, Anaconda, plus Canadian government projects theselves, such as the selling of four military planes at bargain basement prices. Two Canadian banks have granted loans to Pinochet. Birds of a feather.....

We must encourage and support those workers in Canada who protest against their companies' direct or indirect support of the junta. Professors and professionals who use their status to make public declarations in favour of the junta must be challenged. Canadian material and politically complicity must be exposed and confronted.

Finally, the question of political prisoners has been one which has shown the Liberal government to be most demonstrably running after the Chilean junta. Initial pressure last fall, forced the Cabinet to open the door to immigrants from Chile one small crack. Meanwhile, thousands of applicants have been deliberately delayed by the bureaucratic maneouvers of the Canadian government and its systematic co-operation with the Chilean security police in 'screening' applicants. The activity of the Canadian government has placed in danger many hundreds of activists in Chile. The refusal to grant political refugee status and the use of the immigration point system is but one example of Ottawa's crass attitude towards victims of repression. The refusal of the government to call for and actively seek the release of political prisoners held by the junta under the guise that this is an internal Chilean affair is an admission by the government that it accepts the imprisonment and murder of workers and peasants as a valid tool of capitalist rule.

Swedish Ambassador Edelstam's aid to refugees and exiles sought by the Chilean junta and his defense of the Cuban embassy in Santiago served to save many lives of worker and peasant militants including that of Peruvian revolutionary and Fourth Internationalist, Hugo Blanco. His efforts mark him as one of the very few representatives of bourgeois governments in Chile who refused to passively tolerate the brutal represssion which followed the coup. Edelstam's tour is an important step towards challenging the Canadian governments' policy with respect to Chilean refugees.

FREE THE POLITICAL PRISONERS!

OPEN THE DOORS TO REFUGEES FROM CHILE!

END ALL AID TO THE CHILEAN JUNTA!

POLITICAL AND MATERIAL SOLIDARITY WITH THE RESISTANCE!

OUST THE GENERALS, WORKERS TO POWER!

Revolutionary Marxist Group
Sympathizing organization of the
Fourth International
(P.O. Box 103. Stn P, Toronto)

Unfortunately, political events sometimes clash, and tonite is one of those times. The RMG is holding a fund-raising benefit in support of some of the people who were arrested during the Artistic Woodwork strike this winter -- most of whom are faced with fines of up to several hundred dollars. The alliance of Artistic amanagement, hired scabs, Annings Security, Metro Police and the court system, is leaving many victims of this strike in its trail: workers whose jobs were stolen, defendents hit with heavy fines and little help in paying them. AFTER THIS MEETING, HELP THE FIGHT AGAINST STRIKEBREAKING AND HAVE A GOOD TIME BESIDES.

Come to this benefit dance.

Thunderbird
&
The ABbreviated Sloth Band

Fri March 22, St. Paul's Church, 121 Avenue Road

(March 1974)

Banfield , SDS and Free speech

The following is a letter to the Varsity written in the first stages of the of the Banfield incident. Despite the fact that it represents a distinct view of the crisis, the Varsity did not see fit to print it.

Although it has been somewhat dated by events, we believe that its central point has only been confirmed by events. The free speech advocates may have less than angelic motives, but the left has nothing to gain in a strategy that violates free speech.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * *

Immediately following the disruption of the Banfield speech, President John Evans issued a call, through the Varsity, for the university community to consider the issues at hand while waiting for him to arrive at a decision. We take this opportunity to present to the university some of the issues that we consider crucial to understanding and resolving the problem.

While History Chairman Conacher and his volatile vigilantes are getting off on a newly discovered passion for free speech, it is worth remembering that it is these same outstanding democrats who persist in manning the front lines of the struggle to deny students access to decision making in this university.

The history heavies have attempted to safeguard democracy at U. of T. by

participating in the struggle for free speech for fascists, racists and sexists. There is a bizarre air to this sudden sensitivity to democracy, especially considering their enthusiasm for the banning of SDS. However we do not condemn them for their concern for free speech. Rather, we would criticize them for their curious selectivity, which enables them to react hysterically to this particular incident while remaining staunchly opposed to the extension of access to freedom of speech at this university to students. This freedom can only be guaranteed by placing students on all decision making bodies in a parity arrangement, including those bodies now dispensing university funds to give honoraria to the Banfields.

At the same time, it is important to note the errors of SDS-CPL. Apart from the fact that they break from a long tradition of defending free speech on the part of the left, the CPL-SDS critique of Banfield racism substantially misreads his theories. He is not a race theorist, but, as he himself pointed out, a class theorist, who sees blacks lacking in normal human qualities only insofar as they represent a part of the underdeveloped and weakly socialized working class. One can only conclude that the CPL-SDS campaign against Banfield was designed to appeal to guilty hearts. If not, why only Banfield? Why haven't they decided to attack all class chauvinists in the same way? Is it because this tactic confrontation would lead to a bloodbath in most North American universities? It would be impossible for the CPL-SDS to carry this strategy to its logical (over)

conclusion.

This flaw in the internal logic of their strategy reveals the true meaning of their crisis campaigns against racists. The CPL rejects the nationalism of the oppressed as equally racist as is Banfield. They oppose demands such as Black control of the Black community as bourgeois and divisive of the working class. Since they reject the real life process and expression of the fight against racism, they are forced to adopt these campaigns focusing on one or another "bad guy" to save face. In fact, their strategy is based on a method which erroneously sees ideas, not social forces as key to social oppression and liberation. It leads them into infinite alleys of non-sequitors like: End Racism -- Fire a Prof.

Logic dictates another course, namely the demand for courses on Black and Quebecois history under control by the national group, in order to educate those most oppressed in this society. But no, to CPL this is bourgeois.

The right wing on campus is attempting to use the unease of the campus community with the tatics and strategy of CPL to legitimize their dicipline code. SAC response to date has been based on a plea for forgiveness. On the contrary, the student body has no apologies to make for CPL-SDS. To the right's hysterical demand for a repressive non-academic code based on loyalty to free speech, we must not counter with pleas for forgiveness . Rather we must demand a student bill of rights <u>formulated by students</u>, one which incorporates free speech for students, protects students against the whims of professors and enables students to frame rules to govern <u>their own conduct</u> at this university.

This we submit to the consideration of the university community.

Wayne R. SGS

Alice K. Socialist League
85 King St. E.
363-6755

THE DEBATE ON NATIONALISM BETWEEN GERMAIN AND HOROWITZ:

a contribution to the discussion in the Socialist League.

Cont to Fra
Archives
Box 21
(Final Version)

by A. Levi March 13, 1974

When discussing nationalism it is necessary to decide whether the conclusions concerning it in a given concrete situation and time are to be held true for other given situations or whether one can only deal with it in only a given concrete situation. Marx and Engels treated the subject in its concrete and centered it around a particular national situation. Certain main countries were given the status of being central to the European revolution and related nationalisms were subordinated to the class struggle of that nation. At the same time nationalism was regarded as a progressive phenomena generally during the rise of capitalism.

The History of Nationalism

Germain describes this role on pg. 32 of his "In Defense of Leninism? In Defense of the Fourth International" col. 2.

> "This ideology played a progressive role essentially in the 16th, 17th, and 18th century, i.e., in the classical period of the bourgeois-democratic revolution of the pre-industrial era, when the bourgeoisie was historically a revolutionary class. ... With the development of capitalist industry in the 19th century, nationalism gradually loses its progressive character. The triumphant bourgeoisie uses that ideology now less against - rapidely disappearing - pre-capitalist reactionary social forces, and more and more against its foreign capitalist competitors(or worse: other nations whose territory it wants oppressively to include in its own 'home market') and against the working class. 'National solidarity' is called upon to stifle the rise of the proletarian struggle.
>
> "With the epoch of imperialism, nationalism as a rule becomes reactionary, whether it is 'purely' bourgeois or petty-bourgeois in character."

A General Theory of Nationalism

So Germain lays out a law of nationalism, as reactionary in our epoch, and further, that it takes on a bourgeois or petty-bourgeois character. This law he applies in all situations such as the semi-colonial, colonial and Quebecois formations. So he conceives of a general theory of nationalism both in the period of the rise of capitalism and during the imperialist epoch. Horowitz also agrees with his views on nationalism during the rise of capitalism but diverges for the epoch of imperialism; nevertheless he puts forward his own general theory or laws for the imperialist epoch.

The nature of nationalism in the imperialist epoch

Germain sees nationalism as an ideology, that is; "Nationalism is an ideology, the ideology of national solidarity irrespective of regional, ethnic or social differences." (pg. 32 col. 2 IIDB #4) Together with this concept Germain includes the nationalism of an oppressed people fighting imperialism. He refers to the demands of a "democratic secular Palestine" and "for a democratic secular Bangladesh" (the latter more paralles the Quebec situation) saying,

> "They are deliberlately put forward in the struggle by the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois leaderships in order to seperate the agrarian revolution and the emancipation of the working class from the struggle for national liberation." (pg. 25 IIDB #24)

Clearly Germain seperates the struggle against imperialism (which includes the agrarian question notwithstanding Germain) from the struggle for national liberation which to him means formal political independence. This is the same sense that Lenin referred to national emancipation, through national "self-determination". In fact it was Rosa Luxemburg who pointed out to Lenin that one cannot conceive of national emancipation without economic independence but she didn't resolve the problem. Trotsky came forward with his analysis, never fully grasped by Lenin, of the permanent revolution which posed the struggle for national emancipation as an anti-imperialist struggle in the fullest sense of the word.

"Really to arouse the workers and peasants against imperialism, is possible only by connecting their basic and most profound life interests with the cause of the country's liberation." (pg. 25, col.i, IIDB #24)

That is nationalism in a certain sense of the word. Trotsky continues;

"The historical weapon of national liberation can be only the class struggle. The Comintern, beginning in 1924 transformed the programme of national liberation of colonial people into an empty democratic abstraction that is elevated above the reality of class relations. In the struggle against national oppression, different classes liberate themselves (temporarily) from material interests and become simple 'anti-imperialist' forces." (pg. 25, IIDB #24)

Here Trotsky identified national liberation with the struggle against national oppression, unlike Germain, and labled this national consciousness as 'anti-imperialist' as does the '68 document Canada-US Relations. Germain differs by saying;

"it is not necessary to 'break all ties with imperialism' in order to eliminate foreign national oppression. ... Where foreign national oppression is elimated, foreign economic exploitation remains and increases. ... To say that India, Indonesia or Nigeria, not to speak about Brazil, Argentina, Finland or Turkey, are today countries in which foriegn national oppression by imperialism reigns would be obviously misleading." (pg. 30, IIDB #4)

In reply Horowitz states correctly, "But this overlooks the fact that the two are intertwined. /that is, national oppression and economic exploitation,- A.L./ Economic control by imperialism is the basis for maintaining national oppression, and where the former still exists, national oppression continues. ... He fails to make the distinction between formal political independence and genuine national liberation." (pg. 6, IIDB #10)

Canada-US Relations

In that sense Horowitz is correct when he considers nationalism to encompass anti-imperialist consciousness. He says, "in the era of permanent revolution, the nationalism of the masses of the oppressed nationalities tends to mesh with socialist consciousness not bourgeois ideology, because the real momentum of the struggle for nationalist goals tends to mesh with the socialist revolution not the bourgeois revolution. ...

"It is in that sense that we support the nationalism of oppressed nations." (pg. 26 IIDB #24)

As a consequence of Germain's seperation of nationalism as an ideology and as an anti-imperialist consciousness, he replies; "the nationalism of oppressed nationalities, far from tending to overlap with socialist consciousness, is an obstacle on the path toward attaining this consciousness." (pg. 26 IIDB #24)

This conclusion arises from his conception of an anti-imperialist nationalism as being injected into the worker and peasant classes from bourgeois and petty-bourgeois sources and not being derived from the objective situation.

Germain has no perception of a nationalist consciousness corresponding to the actual national oppression suffered by various peoples. Recognizing that the nationalism of the oppressed is not quite the same as the nationalism of the oppressor, he differentiates between a pure bourgeois nationalism and a petty-bourgeois kind. "With the epoch of imperialism, nationalism as a rule becomes reactionary, whether it is 'purely' bourgeois or petty-bourgeois in character." (pg. 32 IIDB #4)

This petty-bourgeois nationalism (which incidentally the RMG is fond of refering to in both Quebec and English Canada) is defined by Germain as, "a narrow, parochial substitute and cover for the programme of the permanent revolution, i.e., national and social emancipation." (pg. 33, IIDB #4)
In fact he goes so far as to call the nationalism in oppressed countries as "bourgeois or petty-bourgeois nationalist ideologies" (pg. 33, IIDB #4) and so lends confusion to his conception of nationalism since he refers to patty-bourgeois nationalism both as a character istic of nationalist ideology and then as an ideology in itself even though he previously represents it as only one character of an ideology. Perhaps that is an attempt to return to his monolithic nationalism after pointing out that there are two aspects to nationalisms or two nationalisms in a sense. In fact Trotsky points this out in a letter to the Indochinese Oppositionists. "The declaration states quite correctly that the nationalism of the bourgeoisie is a means for subordinating and deceiving the masses. But the nationalism of the mass of the people is the elementary form taken by their just and progressive hatred for the most skillful, capable, and ruthless of their oppressors, that is, the foreign imperialists." (pg. 28, IIDB #24)

Having recognized the progressive nature of "nationalism" in some countries, Horowitz admits to a revision of terminology to include anti-imperialist consciousness in the use of the term nationalism. This, Germain calls a revision away from Marxism.*

Certainly how that concept has come to be used by Beiner as simply identification with nationalist ideology based on his caricature of the permanent revolution in Quebec is incorrect. That is, having assumed that Quebec could not achieve a cold transformation into a formal political independence through his application of the permanent revolution to Quebec he believes it necessary to simply call for independence. This follows from Horowitz's theory of nationalism which, although it is based on a recognition of a nationalist consciousness as being progressive, seeks not only tio identify with that consciousness but to support nationalism in oppressed nations.

"There is another aspect to the LSA-LSO error on the national question. ... This is the identification of the right of national self-determination, and the mass struggles evolving around that right, i.e. concrete demands and slogans which express it, with 'nationalism'." (pg. 32, IIDB #4)

Horowitz lays this out for us quite clearly when he states, "Until now, the Fourth International had generally agreed on the importance in the epoch of imperialism of drawing the distinction between the nationalism of imperialist oppressor nations and the nationalism of oppressed nationalities. We have recognized that whereas the former is reactionary to the core, the latter plays a progressive role in advancing the struggle against oppression. For that reason, our movement has opposed the nationalism of oppressor nations but has supported the nationalism of the oppressed nations insofar as it was directed against their oppressors. ... For this reason, the LSA/LSO supports Quebecois nationalism" (pg.10,11,IIDB #10)

This perspective leads him to differ with Germain on Quebec. "why does he feel compelled to emphasize that given a powerful upsurge of the workers' struggle, 'there is no fundamental class interest which would prevent imperialism from transforming any such nationality into independent puppet states.' (page 35) That is theoretically true, but unlikely. It is certainly not the perspective that we should emphasize regarding the

* see the discussion on this same revision in the LSA/LSO contained in Gary Porter's Memorandum on the use of the Term Canadian Nationalism in the 1972/73 documentation DB #51

national question in these countries." (pg. 7, I DB #10) This becoming a justification for the LSO slogan for an "Independent and French Quebec".

The other side of the coin is the law that the nationalism of the oppressor countries (being imperialist) is reactionary. This is a consequence of considering the nationalism of the oppressed per se as being progressive. As Horowitz says,

> "The comrades of the LSA/LSO understood very well this reactionary role of nationalist ideology in imperialist oppressor nations when they overwhelmingly rejected the proposal raised in their organization to support Canadian nationalism." (pg.11, IIDB #10)

Although Horowitz has inovated correctly to consider a progressive nationalist consciousness, he has mistakenly identified this with the ideology and then failed to carry his evaluation into the general sphere and reserves it for only semi-colonial and colonial countries as if there were two theories of nationalism, one for imperialist countries and one for the imperialized. What he fails to take into account is that there are no formal catagories;
-what about the anti-Kurd chauvinism in the Middle-East,
-the oppression of Latin American Indians,
-oppressed nationalities in the workers' states,
-and imperialized imperialism.

An Inovation or Revision

During the second congress of the Comintern in 1920, Lenin implicitly accepted the theory of the permanent revolution when he called for a change of terms from describing the process of permanent revolution in a colonial situation as "bourgeois-democratic" to "national revolutionary". The idea behind the inovation being that the former term although essentially correct didn't contain the perspective of an anti-capitalist thrust to the revolutionary process and so would tend to confuse and prevent the revolutionaries from fully identifying wwith that process.

The LSA delt with the question of more accurately describing the anti-imperialist phenomena in Canada and made a change in its terminology as well during the period of initially coming to grips with it. As was stated in Gary Porter's "Memorandum on the Use of the Term Canadian Nationalism", of July 11/72; "What is involved here is a change in name to more accurately describe this sentiment as it is and as it defined itself in life." (pg. 17, DB 72/73 #51)

From describing it as an anti-imperialist sentiment the LSA came to refer to it as nationalism. "The term Canadian nationalism has the advantage of describing the sentiment as it is - a developing consciousness, which expresses itself in nationalist terms, against Canada's subservient junior partner relationship to the United States." (pg. 17 ibid)

This then parallels the change in terminology that Horowitz utilizes, that is, he uses the term nationalism to mean the developing anti-imperialist consciousness in the colonial and semi-colonial world.

> "In recent years, the Trotskyist movement has introduced a change in th terminology, using the word 'nationalism' not so much to describe its specific origins in connection with bourgeois ideology, but in a more limited sense to describe the simple concept of identification with the nation. ... In the case of oppressed nations ... when the masses hold the idea that they have common interests as a nation, this does not necessarily correspond with the false consciousness that is bourgeois ideology, but can correspond to a true though limited consciousness of reality." (pg. 12, IIDB #10)

As we have seen though, through a faulty conception of the permanent revolution - in not considering a cold political independence as a probability in many cases, he calls for support to this nationalism and so its demands rather than identification which facilitates an unconditional but critical orientation to the struggle.

> "This identification /of national struggle and nationalism - A.L./ led Comrade Beiner to the preposterous statement that the 'positions of Lenin and Trotsky' imply 'unconditional support for Quebecois nationalism' (or for nationalism of any oppressed nation). This is absolutely untrue." (pg. 32, IIDB #4) Germain

And yet we must use our language to most carefully describe our concepts. "In our epoch, the revolutionary socialists, the Marxists, above all must be sensitive to the new aspects of national consciousness which are developing throughout the world, and of which Canadian nationalism is an example." (pg. 18, LSA/LSO DB 72/73 #51)

Along these lines a correct inovation would be to call for an identification with the nationalist consciousness in Canada, previously referred to by members of the United Tendency as a nationalist sentiment. How do we define this concept? Trotsky referred to the "nationalism of the masses of the people" as the "elementary form taken by their just and progressive hatred for the ... foreign imperialists." And furthermore, "The proletariat does not have the right to turn its back on this kind of nationalism. On the contrary, it must demonstrate in practice that it is the most consistent and devoted fighter for the national liberation of Indochina." (pg. 28, IIDB #24)

From this passage this nationalist consciousness can be considered to be an elementary form of anti-imperialism leading towards national liberation. This consciousness is the identification of one's interests in striving to overcome the material and cultural contradictions, oppression and Americanization of oneself as a worker with that of the great mass of the nation which is predominately proletarian. It has many similarities with feminist consciousnesswhich seeks to identify one's interests in striving to overcome material and cultural oppression through, sex-stereotyping and socialization of oneself with that of other women who are predominately proletarian.

A Question of Method

Horowitz seems to think that to analyze a phenomena as having a progressive dynamic allows Marxists to give it their unconditional, tending toward uncritical, support. Speaking generally Horowitz states that, "the nationalism of oppressed nationalities ... plays a progressive role ... For that reason, our movement ... has supported the nationalism of the oppressed nations." (pg. 10, IIDB #10)

He contradicts himself when dealing with a different historical period though; "The Marxist movement, while recognizing the progressive historical role of the rising bourgeoisie, never supported this bourgeois ideology. That is why so many quotations can be found from the great Marxists attacking nationalism (and also bourgeois democracy)." (pg. 11, IIDB #10)

Horowitz, in quoting one of Lenin's most favourable references to nationalism, revels that Lenin also differentiated between nationalism and its content.

> " 'the bourgeois nationalism of any oppressed nation has a general democratic content that is directed against oppression, and it, is this content that we unconditionally support.' " (pg. 11, IIDB #10)

And here Lenin was refering to the epoch of imperialism not to the period of the rise of bourgeois nationalism.

SOCIALIST LEAGUE

85 King St. E.

363-6755

April 6, 1974.

To the Central Office of the LSA/LSO:

As participants in the Canadian Committee for Justice in Latin America, we protest the way that comrades of the LSA functioning in the leadership of the CCLA buried the participation of the revolutionary left in the ho lding and publicising of the meeting for the Swedish ambassador on March 22 in Toronto. Although the leaflet and poster put out and circulated in advance of and for this meeting on Chi le by the CCLA included a broad, impressive, and "respectable" sponsorship list, no mentio n was made of the LSA, the Socialist League, the Revolutionary Marxist Group , or any other organisatio n of the Canadian revolutionary left. Someone reading the leaflet could, without further knowledge, only conclude that this was a meeting bei ng held by the joint sponsorship o f the CCLA, the United Church, Andrew Brewin, and the like. Even the CCLA itself was buried -- the poster and leaflet listed the CCL A as just another sponsor and not the key initiator and builder of the action.

Not only was the revolutionary left buried in terms of its participation and sponsorship, but also the CCLA's future relatio nship with the "respectable" sponsors was jeopardized. What did the LSA comrades anticipate the reactio ns of Andrew Brew in or the United Church would be when they found themselves suddenly sharing the same platform as the LSA and the SL although this occurrence was totally unheralded? Di d the LSA comrades not consider that such an experience might appear to be a snare to these people -- so much so that they would surely keep their distance from any future action initiated by the CCLA? As it turned out, however, even though a second spo nsorship list which included the radical groups appeared o n the evening of the meeting, no explanation was made of who their representatives were on the platform. An drew Brewin who introduced the platform failed to introduce representatives of the LSA, SL, or the chairman of the CCLA, Ian Angus, because of the confusion.

Under these circumstances, it is not without good cause that we can appreciate the RMG's refusal to participate on the platform. We went alo ng with the meeting as handled by the LSA comrades only to avoid creating a scandal. But we must s.y that the LSA's participation and handling of the meeting was disgraceful.

The situation is all the more deplorable inasm uch as we Trotskyist find ourselves in a period in which the Chilean solidarity movement is fragmented by the anti-revolutionary exclusionism of the Stalinists and the right-wing bureaucrats in the Provincial Council of the Ontario NDP (who refused to sponsor the meeting an d red-baited it). It is incomprehensible that -- contrary to the principles of non-exclusionsim and open participation of all organizations who agree with the aims of a united front action so long advocated in the ma ss movements by the Tro tskyists in Canada -- comrades of the LSA would appear to concede so readily to anti-Trotskyist pressures instead of moving decisively and sensitively to overcome them as we had so successfully done in common during the days of the mass anti-war movement.

We protest this adaptation on the part of the LSA comrades and warn that repet - itio n o f such actions can only play into the hands of the Trotskyist-baiting Stal - in ists and reformists and do serious damage to the prospect of building a united fro nt of all the democratic forces in Canada who stand opposed to the Canadian government's criminal complicity in its support of the blood-thirsty Chilean junta. In the interest of unity of the left, we urge that the LSA withdraw from this course which shames its name.

Fraternally,

[illegible] for the Socialist League.

(Gord Doctorow for the Socialist League)

SOCIALIST LEAGUE

85 King St. E.

363-6755

PS. We would also point out the scandalous article that appeared in the April 5/74 issues of the Militant entitled "Edelstam Tour On Chile Terror Draws B ig Response in Canada" by John Cole (presumably a writer in the LSA)g . In this article, dated March 26, it is mentioned that the "meeting was sponsored by a broad coalition", and proceeds to list them. The list includes Amnesty International, the United Church, and a number of other prominent organizations, but it only mentions the names of two radical left organisations, ie the LSA and the IS, along with the CCLA. Were the RMG and the SL not sponsors after all? What kind of relationship does the LSA hope to hold with these latter two organisations with such an amazing display of dishonesty?

(Found in 1974)

Rally in Defence of Soviet Political Prisoners

WITH **Leonid Plyushch**

OTHER SPEAKERS

- **TERRY MEAGHER** Secretary-Treasurer, Ontario Federation of Labour
- **MICHEL CHARTRAND** President, Montreal Central Council, C.N.T.U.
- **JOE MESLIN** Canadian Vice-President, United Hatters' International Union.
- **JAN DUKSZTA** Psychiatrist, MPP - (NDP)

Convocation Hall University of Toronto
Friday April 9th, 7:30pm

Leonid Plyushch -Soviet Ukrainian mathematician

* four years in Soviet prisons, of which 2½ under "treatment" in psychiatric hospital;
* the first prominent socialist oppositionist to reach the west;
* released as a result of massive international campaign and the intervention of French trade union movement and French and Italian Communist Parties.

Endorsations from student councils, trade union locals, other organisations and individuals will be announced at rally.

SAC

Plyushch Tour Ctte. 191 Lippincott St. Tor. (967-0640)

JIRI PELIKAN
00186 ROMA - VIA DELLA ROTONDA, 36 INT. 13
TEL. 652.228

(Notations by R Dowson)

NB

Rome, 27th of July 1974

Zane Boyd,
c/o The Socialist League
Toronto

these enquiries were made for the Ukrainian Marko operation

Dear Friend, thank you very much for your letter from July 11 about the planning of a conference on the USSR and soviet areas. I am very much interested in this subject, but I have lot of problems, regarding my participation in any meeting out of Europe: my passport/I am stateless now because of the arbitrary decision of the neostalinist buraucracy/is valid only for Western Europe and must be endorsed for any trip outside, which would need al least one month. Secondly my canadian visas will also take probably another month, if not more/last year I was waiting for US-visas 3 monthes/. And finally I am angaged in many activities here untill the end of September.

If your conference will be later and I shall know the date much in advance/al least 2-3 monthes/, I may try to get all necessary documents for such a travel, although I am still not sure if this would work/since I was 30 years member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and also several years Presindent of the International Union of Students, I have lot of problems in travelling to some countries/. And of course, I would like to know more about the agenda of the conference, participants etc.

But I may recommend you some Czech friends from Canada or the States, who can make a usefull contribution to such a conference and can attend without difficulties and great expenses.

With my best regards and wishes

yours Jiří Pelikán

Committee in Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners
P.O. Box 130, Station "K", Toronto, Ontario, Canada

NEWS RELEASE September, 1976 NEWS RELEASE

According to reports from dissident circles in Moscow the health of the dissident Mykola Plakhotnyuk, has deteriorated and there are serious concerns for his health. Mykola Plakhotnyuk, a forty year old lung specialist, is suffering from pulmonary tuberculosis. He is currently undergoing compulsory psychiatric treatment at the Dnipropetrovsk Mental Hospital for "schizophrenia with persecution mania." In fact Plakhotnyuk was arrested and incarcerated in a psychiatric hospital in 1972 for his participation in the Ukrainian dissident movement and more immediately, after filing a complaint against police intimidation.

Leonid Plyushch, a Ukrainian dissident recently released as a result of an international defense campaign, has made a special appeal for this young doctor. Drawing attention to the plight of M. Plakhotnyuk, Plyushch explained that Plakhotnyuk's complaint to the government about KGB harassment was used by psychiatrists to declare him insane. Details of the harassment Plakhotnyuk was subjected to have been supplied by Natalka Pylypiuk, a graduate student at Harvard University. While visiting Plakhotnyuk in Kiev, 1971, she saw him followed, kicked and beaten. More importantly, she testified to his sanity at a joint press conference with Leonid Plyushch in New York, on March 25,1976.

Clearly, Mykola Plakhotnyuk is another victim of the government's concerted effort to silence all opposition in the USSR through arrests, imprisonments and the practice of interning sane people in psychiatric hospitals.

In light of such flagrant abuses of psychiatry, it is hoped that all those who defend democratic rights, and psychiatrists especially, will actively protest the misuse of psychiatry to repress and to silence dissent and will express their disdain for the inhumane treatment of Plakhotnyuk. Moreover, the Committee in Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners has organized a campaign in the West in defense of this individual, hoping to gain support for this man whose health has deteriorated considerably and whose plight is one of desperation.

1974

We're Celebrating!

friends, supporters, and members of the socialist league invite you to a get acquainted party

St Paul's United
121 Avenue Rd, south of Davenport, corner of Webster. 8 PM
SATURDAY
APRIL 13th

BUFFET &
the usual liquids
to smooth the way.

Dance to
Jim Mitchell's
band, combining
new sound with the
nostalgia of days
gone by...

remember
those great
parties you used
to go to? where there
was time to talk and get to
know people? where the music was
just as much fun to listen to as to
dance to ?

222222
22222222222
22 ADMIT 2222
ONE 22222222222
2222222222 ADMIT
22222 ONE 2222222
ADMIT 222222222
22222222 ONE 2

$2.00

Come join us!

SOCIALIST LEAGUE

85 King st East

363 - 6755

LSA/LSO INTERNAL

I N F O R M A T I O N B U L L E T I N

Vol. 2, No. 5 April, 1974.

MATERIAL FROM THE JANUARY 1974 PLENUM - 5

CONTENTS

The Addison-Mack Expulsions - A Provocation?

by George Addison p. 1

The Great Rail Strike Debate
by Dick Fidler p. 3

The Clearly Defined and Overriding Difference
by John Riddell p. 9
Comments on the Character of the NDP and

NDP Governments
by Ross Dowson p.11

What It Means to Say an NDP Government
is Bourgeois

by Art Young

The material in this bulletin is published

by the Political Committee for the information of members of the League for Socialist Action/ Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, Canadian Section of the Fourth International.

We included our paper as a routine matter in the letter. We always do that. We put in a copy of the paper when we write for an exchange. By the way, Stephen Lewis has a subscription and so do a number of members of the provincial executive of the party.

COMMENTS ON THE CHARACTER OF THE NDP AND NDP GOVERNMENTS

by Ross Dowson

(The following comments on the character of the New Democratic Party, and of NDP governments, form part of Ross Dowson

summary comments in the plenum discussion of the NDP, popular frontism, and the positions of the Labor Party Tendency. The comments have not been edited by the speaker.)

...I'm very uneasy that comrades suddenly have it revealed to them that the NDP is to be called a social democratic party. We talked about that in the 1951 document, "The CCF, Our Tasks and Perspectives." We talked about that the CCF

no longer permissable, we said, for comrades to attempt to estimate the CCF and let ourselves and the party -- we called ourselves the Revolutionary Workers Party at the time -- be guided by ready-made formulae, such as "social-democratic," "reformist," "politi-

cal support of the bourgeoisie," "third party of the bourgeoisie."
We didn't deny the merit of this.

Then we went on to say that there was a lengthy passage by

Trotsky to our French comrades as to whether these definitions were correct, when applied to the French Socialist Party in 1934. Trotsky answered, both yes and no. Pretty wishy-washy; he didn't stand up and be counted! He said, "Rather no than yes. The im-

tion is, of itself, the unmistakable expression of the fact that we have here to do with a centrist party.".

He talked about this party no longer being what we thought it

was. It is a centrist party. "Which as a consequence of the rapid evolution of the country, still retains its two poles as sharpest contradictions. One would have to be a hopeless scholastic in order to be prevented by the label, 'Second International'" -- that's the label Brett Smiley threw on the NPD

" from seeing what is actually taking place. Only a dialectical definition of the Socialist Party, above all, a concrete appraisal of its internal dynamics, can give the Bolshevic-Leninists the possibility of drawing up a correct perspective". -- Trotsky

used the word perspective -- "and of adopting an active, and not waiting policy." An active policy!

Well, comrades, our policy is an active policy with relation

to the NDP...

I don't know what [illegible]

I don't know what all this is about, these comrades here who are talking about it as some revelation that I now admit that the NDP is a social democratic party. We never said it was other than a social democratic party. But we said that it was not too useful. Maybe yes, maybe no, possibly less now rather

than more yes!

It's one thing to define the NDP formally in broad categories. It's another thing to know how to take an approach to it, to know

the perspective that your movement has for it....

I hope you document what you said about the B.C. government being a bourgeois government. I hope you document this. As we start to discuss that, we will come to grips with what the implications of that are. I don't know why we would support the NDP

if it's a bourgeois government. Why we would identify ourselves with it in the next election. You've got this transition: we support the party, the party as a whole -- but we don't support the leadership, and we don't support the program. But when it

gets elected, we suddenly don't support it because it's a bourgeois government! I don't think we're going to support a bourgeois government. I'm not! If the League took that position, comrades, I would break. If we would support a bourgeois govern-

ment.

I don't think it's useful, comrades, to call an NDP government a bourgeois government. It's useless to call it that. It

doesn't tell us anything about where the class struggle is, where the radicalization is unfolding, where the possibilities are to build this movement....

I say that the formulation that the NDP in B.C., or anywhere it is a government, that it is a bourgeois government, is not a

useful formulation, Comrade Young. Is the NDP a social democratic party, or is it not? It is, and it is not. That's my answer, Comrade Riddell. It's a labor party! ...

Well, comrades, our policy is an active policy with relation
to the NDP...

It's one thing to define the NDP formally in broad categories.
It's another thing to know how to take an approach to it, to know

WHAT IT MEANS TO SAY AN NDP GOVERNMENT IS BOURGEOIS

by Art Young

(The following is an edited and expanded version of the remarks by Comrade Art Young in the discussion of our policy

on the NDP at the January 1974 plenum of the Central Committee.)

What differences exist in this discussion? Well, I have

not yet been able to read the Labor Party Tendency document. I intend to study it carefully. I listened to the report by Comrade Ross, however, and I heard three points which seemed to me to indicate differences -- I'm not yet sure whether they are great or small. These points concerned the character of

governments like the NDP government in British Columbia. An important question.

Comrade Ross said that it was not tactically useful to

call the Barrett government in B.C. a bourgeois government. He preferred the term "labor government." He said that this government was "beholden to labor," to a workers party. He also said that it was not acting like a bourgeois government, like a

Liberal or a Tory government.

Now confusion on these points can lead to very, very serious differences in our practical work. For our position on the class character of a government determines our fundamental political

attitude to the government: whether it is one of opposition or support. This question of the class character of the government is worth exploring.

Comrade Ross did not say the NDP government is not a bourgeois government. He said it was tactically not useful to call it such. I don't know how to interpret that. But I know how Comrade John D. interpreted it. Speaking here in support of the

LPI document, Comrade John said that the NDP government is not a bourgeois government. We can see how the ambiguous formulation of Comrade Ross can give rise to misunderstanding and serious error.

What is the NDP government in British Columbia, if it is not a bourgeois government? Comrade Ross argues for the description: "a labor government." Now what does this mean? Does it mean that the Barrett regime is a bourgeois government of a par-

ticular type, where a labor party is in office? That is certainly the situation in British Columbia today. But Comrade Ross rejects the description of the NDP regime as a bourgeois government of any kind, and counterposes to this concept, the idea that

it is a "labor government." This implies that the class character of the government is not bourgeois; that it is in some sense a working class government. Such a view is dead wrong.

Is it possible for petty-bourgeois leaderships -- and that is the character of the NDP leadership -- to establish a govern-

ment which is not bourgeois in its class character. As a rule they cannot do this. Marxism knows an exception, and it is defined very precisely in the Transitional Program -- that of a workers and farmers government. (Comrade Ross's use of the term "labor government" even suggests such a concept.) The Transition-

al Program defines such a formation as "a government independent of the bourgeoisie."

A workers and farmers government can be established, in

exceptional circumstances, where the bourgeois state has been decisively weakened, but not yet destroyed. Capitalist property relations have not yet been overturned. But the government stands outside the control of the bourgeoisie, and is capable of

far-reaching anti-capitalist measures, reflecting the weakness of the bourgeoisie and the power of the revolution. Yet in a relatively short period of time, either the revolution or the counter-revolution will triumph. Either the revolution will move

forward to the expropriation of capital, or else capital will gather its forces, strengthen itself, and overthrow the government.

ment is in contradiction with the class character of the state, is a very unstable and temporary one.

Such a situation arose in Cuba in 1959, about six months

after Batista was ousted from power, when the coalition government was thrown out. The Castro team constituted a new, revolutionary government. The old bourgeois army had been destroyed, and the government was defended by the guns of the rebel army,

and of workers' and peasants' militias, yet property relations still remained capitalist, and the old bourgeois state, greatly weakened, had not yet been destroyed. The government's class character was different from the class character of the state;

it was a workers and farmers government.

This contradictory situation was a short transition leading to the overthrow of capitalist property relations, and the establishment in 1960 of a workers state.

In Algeria, following the winning of independence, a workers and farmers government was also established. It proved unable to move towards the establishment of a workers state, and was over-

thrown by a right-wing coup.

What does all this have to do with the NDP government in British Columbia? Is the government there in contradiction with

the bourgeois nature of the state? Is it independent of the control of the bourgeoisie? I think no one holds that view. It is not a workers and farmers government; its class character is necessarily bourgeois.

Let us take it the other way. Why is it correct to say that

it is a bourgeois government. Well, it is a government which administers and defends the state of the bourgeoisie. It is a government which is devoted to the maintenance of capitalism.

That's its program. It is a government based on capitalist property relations. The state on which it rests is bourgeois. Comrade Ross said that he agrees that the state is bourgeois. The Barrett government rests on the police, the state bureaucracy,

the courts, the army -- all of them bourgeois. And the army is the ultimate tool of power, as we saw in Quebec in 1970 with the War Measures Act.

*

What class rules in British Columbia? What class controls

the government? To what class is it responsible? Is the Barrett government "beholden" to the labor movement? The experiences of Bill 11, and of the struggle for women's rights, have convinced thousands of B.C. NDPers that the Barrett government refuses to

acknowledge any obligation to the labor movement which thrust it into office. It accepts the framework of the bourgeois state and of defense of that state. It is devoted to the maintenance of bourgeois property relations. Thus it is ultimately respon-

sible, as a government, to the capitalist class.

It is true that the Barrett regime is a bourgeois government with a particular feature, which it is vital for us to

understand. A Liberal or Tory government is based on parties which the bourgeoisie has built, shaped, and which it controls directly, without intermediaries. An NDP government poses a somewhat more complex task for the bourgeoisie, and therefore normally does not enjoy their confidence to an equal extent.

For the NDP is a party based on the labor movement, and its leaders are tied to the bureaucratic layer which heads the labor movement. For that reason it is much more susceptible to mass pressure.

We say that the NDP is a labor party. Its social base is the labor movement. But its program and leadership are bourgeois and petty bourgeois. Its election to government often reflects the

rise of the working class movement, and gives rise to expectations by workers that it will act on their behalf. But the leadership which takes office does so with a pro-capitalist program. It takes office to administer a bourgeois state, not to dismantle it. It takes office with the agreement of the bour-

geoisie, which has made a conscious decision to allow the NDP to form the government.

Now when you have an NDP government like that in B.C., the

situation expresses very graphically the contradictions inherent in the NDP, the contradiction between the labor base of the party and its bourgeois program. The interests of the working class base of the party are in fundamental contradiction to the inter-

ests of the bourgeoisie in whose interests the NDP government is ruling. The workers interests are in fundamental contradiction with the pro-capitalist program of the government. This presents us with tremendous possibilities to intervene. We pose the question, in whose interests is the government ruling: those of the

working class, or those of the bourgeoisie?

We oppose bourgeois governments -- even when the NDP is in office. An NDP government is different in its class character from the NDP as a mass labor party. An NDP government is not

working class in composition; it is not part of the labor move-
ment. Its class character is not in contradiction but in harmony
with that of the bourgeois state. The class character of an NDP
government <u>is</u> in contradiction with that of the social base of

the New Democratic Party, with its character as a labor party.

We support progressive measures taken by an NDP government -- indeed we support genuinely progressive measures taken by a Liberal or Tory government too. If Trudeau abolished the abor-

tion laws, we would support that action. But we do not support the bourgeois government which carries out such actions.

Our goal is to expose the NDP government in the eyes of the

masses, and to mobilize the NDP ranks, and the working class in general, against the government. Now to do this effectively demands a correct appreciation of the particular character of the NDP government. It means calling on the NDP leaders, who are in government, to take action of behalf of the working class. It

means presenting our program in the framework of what this government should do -- without suggesting any political confidence in the government, or any confidence that it will actually implement that program. It means taking up the parts of the NDP

program which are correct, and demanding that the government implement them. In general, it means pointing out the contradiction between the base of the party, and the party leadership which rules in the interests of the enemy class. This approach is a means of struggle against the government, not of support

a means of struggle against the government, not of support.

We do not cease our critical support of the NDP, as a party, when it takes office. We also continue to defend the NDP against the attacks of the bourgeoisie.

And even in the case of an NDP government, we will defend it against attacks from the right. To the degree that an NDP government bends in response to pressure from the working class,

layers of the bourgeoisie. The ruling class can come to the conclusion that a new government is needed. It can try to unseat the NDP government, in order to install a bourgeois government which it considers better able to defend its interests. This is

what happened to the Allende regime. It was a bourgeois government, but the bourgeoisie decided to replace it with a military dictatorship. We were for defense of the Allende government against the coup.

But this does not mean that we have any political confidence in such a government, or that we give it political support. We can defend it against attack from the right. We do so in order to create the conditions where the working class will be able to

replace it, and install a workers government. That's the traditional Leninist strategy. It expresses our basic goal with respect to a government like that of the NDP, Allende, or Kerensky. Our basic policy is opposition; our basic goal is to replace it.

correction

The cover of LSA/LSO Internal Information Bulletin

Vol. 2, No. 4 (February 1974) is in error in stating that the report on Class Collaboration and Independent Working Class Political Action: Some Fundamental Aspects of our Policy Towards the NDP presented to the plenum

by Gary Porter was adopted by the plenum. The motions adopted by the plenum are contained in the last paragraph of the report.

Library and Archives Canada
395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, ON K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque et Archives Canada
395, rue Wellington
Ottawa, ON K1A 0N4

For material still subject to legislative, contractual or institutional obligations, users warrant that they will respect those obligations and not use LAC collections in a manner that would infringe the rights of others. Liability that may arise in the use of a copy is assumed in full by the user. LAC accepts no responsibility for unauthorized use of collection material by users.

To ensure proper citation and to facilitate relocation of an item, the source of the material and its reference number should always accompany the copy.

Pour les documents faisant encore l'objet d'obligations législatives, contractuelles ou institutionnelles, les usagers s'engagent à respecter ces obligations et à ne pas utiliser les documents des collections de BAC de façon à nuire aux droits d'autrui. Ils doivent assumer entièrement toute responsabilité qui pourrait découler de l'utilisation d'une reproduction de document. BAC décline toute responsabilité quant à l'utilisation non autorisée de documents provenant de ses collections.

Afin de citer un document avec exactitude et d'en faciliter le repérage, sa source et son numéro de référence doivent toujours accompagner la reproduction.

TITLE/TITRE A1-1974 IB Vol 2 No 5 Plenum
RG _____ MG _____ R- 10995 SERIES/SÉRIE _____
ACCESSION _____ VOL 3 PAGE(S) 8
BOX/BOÎTE _____ REEL/BOBINE _____
FILE/DOSSIER A1-1974
DATE January 2015

(Found in SL-1974)

PROTEST APPEAL COURT DECISION * * * * * DROP ALL CHARGES AGAINST DR. MORGENTALER

On Friday, April 26, five judges of the Quebec Court of Appeal overturned the November jury acquittal of Dr. Henry Morgentaler of Montreal on a charge of performing an illegal abortion. Since that time Dr. Morgentaler's lawyers have appealed the decision to the Canadian Supreme Court.

This court ruling represents a further attempt to victimize this doctor and, in doing so, deal a severe blow to the abortion rights movement. It demonstrates the lengths to which the government and courts are prepared to go to get a conviction in this case and by doing so threaten the rights of every woman who may wish to decide whether or not to complete a particular pregnancy. This ruling attempts to negate this right and reinforce the federal government's restrictive anti-abortion law, despite majority support for women's right to safe, legal abortion.

Dr. Morgentaler stands for the right of every woman to have access to medically safe abortion. He believes that the federal abortion law is dangerous and unjust to women and should be repealed from the Criminal Code.

Without the efforts of a powerful, vocal defense campaign this doctor faces conviction and possible life imprisonment under an archaic and unworkable law.

The Toronto Committee to Defend Dr. Morgentaler is composed of women and men committed to taking direct action to win the dropping of all charges against Dr. Morgentaler and repeal of the abortion law. We call on all supporters to join together to protest this latest attack and to demand that the victimization of this doctor be stopped. We need your support and involvement. Join us.

REMEMBER THESE DATES: May 21 - 8:30 p.m. Redlight Theatre presents a special performance of "What Glorious Times They Had", a dramatic look at the Canadian Women's suffrage movement. All proceeds to defend Dr. Morgentaler. Bathurst Street United Church, 736 Bathurst (at Bloor)

June 8 - 7:30 p.m. Benefit to defend Dr. Morgentaler. Entertainment, bar, displays, etc. St. Paul's Avenue Road United Church, 121 Avenue Road.

Every Thursday - 8 p.m. Toronto Committee to Defend Dr. Morgentaler meets to plan activities and discuss new developments. Everyone is welcome. Neill-Wycik College, 96 Gerrard St. E., Kerr Room, 22nd Floor.

DEFEND DR. MORGENTALER! REPEAL THE ANTI-ABORTION LAW!

Please clip and mail to: Toronto Ctte. to Defend Dr. Morgentaler, Box 186, Stn. F, Toronto, Ontario Telephone: 863-9999

__Please contact me. I want to get involved.
__Enclosed is $_____ to help the defense effort. FUNDS URGENTLY NEEDED!
__I endorse the work of the Committee. Please keep me informed.
__Please send more information.

NAME_____ TELEPHONE_____

ADDRESS_____

EDITORIAL Toronto Star April 29, 1974

MORGENTALER CASE

Reversal of jury disquieting

The decision of the Quebec Court of Appeal to reverse the not-guilty verdict of the jury in the celebrated Morgentaler case comes as a shock. We usually take it for granted that the question of guilt or innocence is the sole prerogative of a jury to answer, provided only that the case has been properly presented to it, and that the law has been clearly explained.

Dr. Henry Morgentaler was acquitted by a Montreal jury last November on a charge of performing an illegal abortion. On appeal by the crown, the appeal court has said in effect that the jury was wrong, that it should have convicted Dr. Morgentaler—and in fact has ordered him to appear before the trial judge to be sentenced.

It is not unusual for an appeal court to set aside a jury verdict in a criminal case because the jury was wrongly instructed in the law, or because certain evidence was erroneously admitted or excluded.

But the usual procedure in such cases is to order a new trial so that another jury, correctly instructed by the trial judge and with the proper evidence before it, can decide the case. It is most unusual for the appeal court judges to substitute themselves for the jurors and render the verdict they think the jury should have delivered.

The very rarity of such occurrences perhaps helps to make the point that there is more at issue here than a mere legal technicality.

One of the jury system's advantages is that it allows the common sense, compassion and sense of justice of ordinary people to temper the rigidities of the law.

The jurors in a criminal case, for example, traditionally have been free to acquit the accused, even against the weight of evidence, if they felt that the law under which he was prosecuted was archaic or unjust, or if they considered the prosecution's methods unfair. This in past times has been an influence for reform.

To cite one example, England in the early 19th century still imposed the death penalty for petty theft and similar minor offences. But juries regularly refused to convict because they considered the penalty out of all proportion to the crime. As a result the law was changed and the number of capital offences greatly reduced—much to the indignation of some tradition-minded judges.

None of this is to argue either that juries are a substitute form of legislature, or that the Quebec Court of Appeal, even if its decision to reverse the jury finding was unusual, exceeded its powers.

But in just such cases as those relating to illegal abortion, a crime about which there is much controversy, there would seem to be a virtue in having decisions made by juries composed of ordinary people, applying to the evidence ordinary common sense and ordinary compassion.

For appeal court judges to make a practice of brushing aside jury verdicts and substituting their own would be to deny this wholesome influence. The jury system was devised so that accused persons would have their guilt or innocence under the law decided, not by lawyers, or politicians, or theologians, but by ordinary citizens. There is still everything to be said for it.

EDITORIAL Globe and Mail April 30, 1974

An affront to the people

The Quebec Court of Appeal has chosen to disregard the deliberations and decision of a jury of the people and overturn their acquittal of Montreal physician Henry Morgentaler on a charge of illegally performing an abortion.

The issue now to be argued is not what Dr. Morgentaler did—it is what the Quebec Court of Appeal did; and the court is wrong. It has declared, in effect, that justice is something too rarefied to reside in the hands of the people. In doing this, the court has affronted justice—seriously affronted one of the most valuable components of our judicial system: the jury of peers.

To be sure, the court did what it is entitled by statute to do: overturn a not-guilty verdict on Crown appeal if, in its opinion, "the accused should have been found guilty but for an error in law". It chose to rule that the trial judge, Mr. Justice James Hugesson of the Court of Queen's Bench, erred in law in admitting as a defence a section of the Criminal Code protecting from criminal responsibility anyone who performs a surgical operation with reasonable care and skill and with regard to the person's state of health at the time.

Why, then, did the Quebec Court of Appeal not send the case back for a new trial before a new jury? At the very least it should have done this—instead of undermining the preciousness of the jury system. At the very least it could have done this—instead of choosing baldly to oppose the judgment of the people.

The jury system is precious precisely because it tempers with common sense and contemporary community attitudes the rigidity and often the outdatedness of our laws. It works to maintain our law as a living thing within the aridness of books and black robes and fancy titles and ancient precedents. A jury of citizens, particularly where social issues are concerned, should have the unfettered right to apply their common good sense to the evidence without that right standing to be negated by some technical application or interpretation of the law by courts of appeal.

What did the Quebec Court of Appeal do? It decided there was no further evidence a jury could hear; it decided that a jury had had its chance and failed; it decided the matter was too important to be left in a jury's hands, in the people's hands. It decided the case the way it thought a jury should have decided. That is a misuse of the powers that the people have given to the men and women they appoint as their judges. That is an authoritarian position to which we see the courts of this country moving with depressing speed.

CANADIAN COMMITTEE FOR JUSTICE TO LATIN AMERICAN POLITICAL PRISONERS

STATEMENT OF AIMS

1. TO AID in defending victims of political persecution in Latin America, regardless of their particular beliefs, affiliations, or associations, and to provide whatever assistance is possible for their families.

2. TO ORGANIZE such actions as may be possible within Canada to put pressure on reactionary Latin American governments to stop restrictions on the rights of free speech and free association, to respect the rule of law in all political cases, to ameliorate the harsh conditions under which political prisoners are held, and to work for their amnesty and release.

3. TO INFORM and arouse public opinion in Canada on the repressive policies pursued by military, authoritarian, and even constitutional regimes in Latin America which trample on elementary civil and political liberties, and to call attention to any complicity of the Canadian government and its open and secret agencies in aiding and abetting such violations of democratic rights.

4. TO COOPERATE with organizations in Latin America, Canada, and other countries which have similar purposes.

MEETING

To plan activities for the Toronto chapter in the coming months -- in particular, to discuss how to continue and extend the campaign against the repression in Chile, and the campaign to open Canada's doors to refugees and exiles.

PLACE: International Student Center, 33 St. George St.

DATE: Sunday, April 7 TIME: 2:00 pm

For information, phone Ian Angus 366-7009

EVERYONE WELCOME

(see over)

Found in AU

SPONSORS

The following is a partial list of sponsors of the Canadian Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners

Prof. Kathleen Gough Aberle, Dept. of Anthropology, UBC
Robert Anderson, President. U. of T. Students Administrative Council
Prof. Charles Ackermann, Dept. of Anthropology, Carleton U.
Prof. Trent Brady, Dept. of History, U. of Toronto
Andrew Brewin, M.P. (NDP)
Claire Culhane, antiwar activist and author
Amy Dalgleish, Vancouver NDP Area Council
Colin Gabelmann, B.C. M.L.A. (NDP)
Prof. Charlen Gordon, Dept. of Sociology, Carleton U.
Senator Eugene Forsey
Ray Haynes, former President, B.C. Federation of Labor
Joe Meslin, Vice-President, International Hatters Union
Prof. Bianca Muratorio, Dept. of Anthropology, UBC
Ron Newton, Latin American Studies Program, Simon Fraser U
Grant Notley, Provincial leader, Alberta NDP
Heather Rideout, U. Of T. SAC Women's Commission
Prof. L. Rosen, U of T. Mathematics Dept.
Prof. Alfred H. Siemens, Dept. of Geography, UBC
Harold Steeves, B.C. M.L.A. (NDP)
Dr. Gustavo Tolentino
Hilda L. Thomas, B.C. NDP Executive
Peter Warren, Montreal Amnesty International
Rev. Canon Maurice P. Wilkinson, Associate Secretary, Canadian Council of Churches

---

YOU CAN HELP!

mail to: Canadian Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, Box 38, Station B. Toronto

()I want to work with the Committee. Please Contact me.

()Please list my name as a sponsor for the Committee.

()I want to subscribe to Latin American Political Prisoners Report. Enclosed is ()$2.00 for 10 issues
()$20.00 for a lifetime subscription

()Enclosed is a donation of $_____ as a contribution to the work of the Committee.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Postal Code _____

Phone _____

Occupation/Organization/School _____

_____

energy crisis ?

In the face of the so-called world energy crisis, the land mass that the Canadian people inhabit and have developed is one of the few industrialized areas in the world that has NO ENERGY SHORTAGE. Even now Canada is a net exporter of energy - coal, electricity and oil. Its favourable position in the field of nuclear energy that could be developed for the benefit of the peoples of the entire world has got the US oil moguls, even as they are blackmailing all of humanity through their control of the world's oil, into a series of manouvers to terminate Ottawa's restrictions on the ownership of Canada's uranium resources and to take over the publicly-financed Ontario Hydro's know-how in this area.

It is an indisputable fact that Canada has an energy SURPLUS - including a surplus of oil, not counting vast and as yet untapped reserves. Yet the working people of this country are now about to suffer another monstrous gouge into their pocket books to pay for gas for their cars and heating oil for their homes.

You are about to pay a probable 12% increase for regular gas in the Metro Toronto area and 25% increase in the price of heating oil. It has been estimated that this will amount to another 1¼ point increase in the already skyrocketing consumer price index.

Just a few weeks ago the oil that is welling out of the ground in Alberta and Saskatchewan was priced by the giant US corporations that have bought up the mineral rights and control over 90% of the petroleum industry, at $4 a barrel. Nothing significant has happened to the cost of producing this oil and getting it into the Metro Toronto area - certainly not in the form of higher wages to the workers who transform this natural resource into a valuable commodity. But the prices have been suddenly jumped by the federal government, at the behest of the US oil monopolists, to $6.50 a barrel for domestic use and to $10.70 for export trade.

This price hoist has been decided by the Liberal government with vague talk of setting up some undefined government-owned corporation in the oil industry and a few concessions to Saskatchewan and Alberta who will get added provincial revenue plus federal funds for economic development. The Alberta Tory government is giving its US oil patrons a healthy cut into this added revenue.

But the first obvious results are that the price of Canadian oil which was considerably below the world market price is now completely in line with the new $10.70 price, just established by the US world oil cartel, which is hitting most harshly at the marginal economies of the former colonial sectors of the globe and is imposing on the Canadian people a 12% and 24% increase in the price of gas and heating oil.

We are supposed to be grateful that Canadian oil sold on the Canadian market has been kept at $6.50 a barrel . But it is obvious that the US oil moguls who control the Canadian industry lock stock and barrel will not be content to leave it there. The credo of the oil magnates, if there are still any lingering doubts, was made crystal clear by Imperial Oil spokesman A.P. Bell before a Nova Scotia government board when asked to justify a recent price increase. "Pricing is not a cost plus formula" he frankly said. It is not based on the cost of production but on the "tone of the market" - what through their monopolistic position they can squeeze out of us.

There is one obvious answer to block this first price gouge that the oil corporations have been gratuitously allowed and to head off further gouges that are in the offing.

For the public ownership of the now US imperialist owned petroleum industry- not under governments that have revealed nothing so much as their readiness to comply to its pressure, but under organs of popular control based on the trade unions that are the organized expression of the workers now operating the industry.

An effective campaign addressed to the working people of Canada, organized by the trade unions and the New Democratic Party, along with the Waffle and the entire left, could win this demand or at the very minimum mark a tremendous stride forward in this direction.

THERE IS AN ENERGY CRISIS IN CANADA ONLY IN SO FAR AS THE CANADIAN PEOPLE DO NOT OWN AND CONTROL CANADA'S ENERGY RESOURCES AND INDUSTRY!

Socialist League
85 King Street East, 3rd floor, Toronto
M5C 1G3
phone 363-6755

3/5/74

(Jim Mitchell collection)

We mailed the inflation leaflet, the forum notice (orange version), and the following note to 80 people as a reminder of the second forum.

DON'T MISS THIS ONE

Those who didn't make the first forum back on May 9 missed something good. There were 35 to 40 persons there and the discussion contributions were controversial and extremely stimulating. In his contribution Dowson posed Canadian Trade Union autonomy as a key issue confronting the Canadian labor movement which he said if taken up in a decisive way by the forces grouped around CUPE at the CLC Congress could project the Canadian labor movement on a new course comparable to the campaign behind the CIO in the 30's. As you know this question became the overwhelming issue at the CLC convention this week.

This coming Wednesday's forum should be equally stimulating now that the NDP is into a federal election struggle and all the revolutionary left are making their projections.

Found in 1974

Announcing the

Socialist Forum

Three Important Discussions -

8 pm Thursday May 9th	Canadian National Unionism speaker Ross Dowson
8 pm Wednesday May 22nd	Socialist Strategy and the NDP speaker Gord Doctorow
8 pm Wednesday June 5th	Womens Liberation and Socialism speaker Ellie Kirzner

to be held at

St Pauls United Church Hall
121 Avenue Road
Side door on Webster (one south of Davenport)

for further information call the

Socialist League

363 6755

85 King St east

SOCIALIST LEAGUE

Summer Educational Programme

Socialist Study Groups

Group I - Marxist Theory

A series of topics dealing with key aspects of Marxists fundamentals

Group II - Marxist Economics
Series utilizes Mandel's "Marxist Economic Theory" as a framework

Group III - Nationalism
Theories of nationalism and imperialism as they apply to English Canada and Quebec

Group IV - Women's Liberation
Theories and strategies relating to the Woma n's movement

Registration Information

Name _____ Phone _____

Address _____ P.Z. _____

Day and Time prefered _____

Choice I _____ II _____ III _____ IV _____

June 1974.

THE TRANSITIONAL PROGRAMME TENDENCY'S STATEMENT ON THE L.S.A.'S ELECTION CAMPAIGN IN THE FORTHCOMING FEDERAL ELECTION

At a time when there has been a great desire for a thorough discussion on the LSA's orientation and general approach to the NDP, the decision and the announcement ~~through Labor Challenge~~ of the running of a LSA candidate in the coming Federal Election has come as a surprise and has added to the bewilderment of both tendency members and others. It would seem that our leadership somehow felt that it was unnecessary to have some discussion with branch executives or to have called an NDP fraction. For most members, the announcment in Labor Challenge presented us with a "fait accompli".

While the organizational aspects of this decision are of some importance, the tactical and political ramifications from this decision are much more important both now and in the future. The running of a LSA candidate plays into the hands of the right wing NDP opponents of the LSA. It gives them a very good example of their position in the NDP that the LSA is both "alien" to the NDP and an opponent party whose members should be expelled or refused membership in the NDP with little or no consideration. It also prevents the LSA from telling the ordinary NDPer that the LSA is not "alien" or an opponent party. The running of an NDP candidate against the NDP can now be used by the NDP brass to carry out expulsions in Toronto and elsewhere.

The running of a candidate will objectively encourage the younger LSA members as well as older ones to concentrate their activities in our campaign instead of taking the election opportunity to get our members into the NDP Riding Associations in order that we re-build our base and contacts with the NDP members.

The most important distinction in the past between the LSA and other left wing groups has been our strategic orientation towards the NDP. Now we will find ourselves lined up with the Stalinists, the Maoists and the Socialist Labour Party with whom we have argued for years against running against the NDP. Bothe members of the NDP and non-members as well will see our campaign not as a method to "critically support" the NDP but as opposition and criticism only. If there are still distinctions left, the running of a candidate side by side with these other left groups will completely blur them. The distinctions will only exist in the minds of the LSA leadership and their supporters.

Certainly in the past, the LSA has run election campaigns in English Canada. But this has always been when the NDP has refused to contest elections. Then the LSA fielded candidates but never against the NDP. Once the Socialist Education League (the forerunner of the LSA) ran a candidate against the old CCF in Broadview Riding in Toronto during the Diefenbaker "sweep" of 1957. However the conditions were quite different: the decline of the CCF; shortly after the expulsion of comrades from the CCF; moves in the direction of creating a new party by the CCF and the CLC; the scrapping by the CCF of the Regina Manifesto. Our candidacy today is completely new and erroneous as well as without precedents in the past history of our movement.

What are the reasons for the LSA running a candidate against the NDP? If there were widespread and deep rumblings in the ranks of the NDP, there would be a good reason to run in order to link up with this opposition within the NDP. However this is not the case at all today! Another would be to educate and elevate the level of thinking of the ordinary member of the NDP. When one considers though that after years of a struggle between the NDP brass and the Waffle, the average NDPer still gives organizational reasons for the dispute, the presentation of our full programme will not be understood by such people. They will not see our candidacy as "critical support"; on the contrary they will see it as "alien" and in opposition not to the NDP leaders but to the NDP as a whole. To ignore this concrete situation is to really just shut our eyes to reality.

Finally, let us now look at three other aspects of this campaign: the candidate, the riding of Eglinton, and the issue. In Labour Challenge of June 10, 1974, we brag of her membership in the NDP in the most light hearted manner. At a time when we should be trying to strengthen our roots and ties with the NDP in order to organize an opposition to the NDP brass and recruit members for our movement, we are now encouraging her to put her head on the NDP brass' chopping block. But looking in another direction, the direction of unconditional but critical support, why did not the leadership of the LSA encourage comrade Alderdice to run for the NDP nomination in that riding or any other? It would have allowed us to at least have spoken to the riding

NDP membership in a most positive manner? If the George Addison episode was an organizational fumble, the running of Comrade Alderdice is nothing short of political masochism!

If we cannot talk to the average member of the NDP there, then what about the electorate of Eglinton Riding? This North Toronto riding is one of the most upper middle class and bourgeoie ridings in Toronto. Need we say more on this issue? What is left - some Vanguard that the RMG always talks about?

The main issue as Labour Challenge tells us is Chile and with External Affairs Minister Mitchel Sharp as the incumbent Liberal M.P. this is quite correct. But as the same article mentions, this issue has been one of the most positive aspects of the NDP Federal Caucus in the last parliament. Just how can we score the NDP on this issue? If Lewis and the brass of the NDP are not pushing this, the tactic should be for our comrades to raise the questions and push the NDP candidates in this direction. This again would be a positive approach to the issue as well as the NDP. Besides all the other left sect candidates running there will be raising the question too. So the issue will not be our exclusive preserve.

In conclusion, while the campaign will be a farse and really serve no purpose in itself, the decision to do this shows that the new NDP orientation of "critical support" is all criticism and no support for the NDP. Further, it shows that our movement is still adapting more and more to the sectarian line of the RMG. Comrades should now seriously compare the lines on the NDP of our present movement, the Marvin Gandal document of our last convention and the present line of the RMG. The differences at best are becoming less and less on many domestic issues. Also our leadership is now posing the LSA more and more as a party and not as a cadre building movement preparing to be a party. Our new course and the running of a candidate against the NDP will only further isolate our movement, endanger our comrades working in the NDP, and destroy in one blow the years of our hard work in the past. Drop the LSA candidate and support the NDP campaign in Eglinton Riding!

At the Forward Forum

each Friday night at 8 pm

FRI. JUNE 6

● Quebec labor movement under attack

The Bourrasso government's "Cliche Commission", originally intended to launch an attack against the construction unions in the QFL, backfired into an embarrassing indictment of its own responsibility along with business, for the corruption and bureaucratic maneuvres of the union leaders. This forum will investigate the developments, their roots, and the working class alternative. The speaker is Stu Sinclair, longtime activist-unionist in the UAW.

FRI. JUNE 13

MARXIST VIEW OF LIFE & CULTURE SERIES

Marxist View of Alienation

The alienation of workers in capitalist society plays a central role in the development of Marx's thoughts about the nature and means of transformation of capitalist society. One cannot be a Marxist without understanding this most fundamental concept. The speaker is Gord Doctorow, organizer of the Socialist League.

FRI. JUNE 20

INFLATION: What it is & How it's caused

OR, EVERYTHING YOU WANTED TO KNOW ABOUT INFLATION BUT WERE AFRAID TO ASK.

This most timely topic will be presented with a view to explaining the roots and causes of inflation, and what labor needs to combat its effects.

Our speaker is Zahir Antia, a student activist and student of economics at York University.

For further information, or if you wish to be placed on the Forum mailing list to keep informed of future events at the FORWARD FORUM on Friday nights, call: 595-1284.

We're located at:

53 Gerrard St. W. (at Bay)

At the Forward Forum

each Friday night at 8 pm

FRI. JUNE 27

battle for Morgentaler's amnesty

Freedom of choice, women's liberation, the struggle for a democratic jury system and the most basic civil liberties -- Dr. Henry Morgentaler is now at the centre of all these struggles. Today he is Canada's prisoner of conscience. Harry Paine, a longtime activist in the labor and sociolist movements and a member of the steering committee of the Canadian Association to Repeal the Abortion Laws (CARAL), will report on the battle to win amnesty for Dr. Morgentaler.

FRI. JULY 4

Crime and punishment

This forum will centre in on the nature of Canada's penal system. Does it serve the end of rehabilitation or is it an instrument of repression and class vengeance? Our featured speaker is Toronto lawyer and social activist Harry Kopyto.

Emmeline Pankhurst

FRI. JULY 11

Prophets of the first wave

What were the women like who sparked and led the first wave -- the suffrogette movement? What experiences preceded the development of the second wave -- women's liberation? Alice Klein, a contributor to the prize-winning collection of essays which appeared in Women at Work, will present profiles of the leaders of this movement.

For further information, or if you wish to be placed on the Forum mailing list to keep informed of future events at the FORWARD FORUM on Friday nights, call: 595-1284.

We're located at:

53 Gerrard St. W. (at Bay)

July 6, 1974
Toronto
Socialist League
85 King Street East

Archie Callaghan
Indian Meal Line
Torbay, Newfoundland

Dear Achie

In a couple of days you will be receiving five copies of our new paper called Forward. Fred dropped into the office here yesterday and suggested that we send them. I would have done it long ago but I did not have your address. I never came across it in the process of going through the various lists we had.

Of course it is rather late in the day with this issue because of course it centers in on the elections----the results of which we will have long before you receive even this first class mail. But we are hoping that you know a few people whose interests are higher than the election about the on-going problems of the working class. We would like a sub from you and would appreciate any help you can give us in picking up a few more from persons you are in contact with. The next issue will not be out until the fall--but we are hoping to get sufficient sub base under it now so that we can get second class mailing rights.

Probably Fred has given you some general idea of what has been happening in the Trotskyist movement over the last two years. The inside editorial and then the Freak out and fall-out on the NDP touch on the open political problems of the dispute. This is all the result of the tremendous expansion of the movement and the terrible lack of basic cadre to contain it educate it and direct it. We are now in the process of a sorting out but not in a common organization...a difficult experience and one that we have not had in Canada before--at least not since the 1930 when there were two Trotskyists formations

We would be very much interested in knowing what you think of this issue. And of course we would like to hear what is doing in your area--in the unions and in the NDP. Despite the colloasl exapansion of the medias of information Newfoundland does not loom very large--the bosses dont think it very important aside from its scenic beauties and tourism dollars.

We are hoping to renew our connextions with the NDP ranks in the next period. Many new elemonts are coming around and they unlike previous days they appear to be very open to new ideas. Many of the constituency associations will be undergoing considerable growth and theywill have more than just an electoalist activity. Thats the way it looks here in the Toronto area.

fraternally

Ross Dowson

400 of these were inserted in Forward and distributed to NDP election night rallies

Socialist Forum

8:00 P.M.

Wednesday - July 10th/74. We will be discussing the results of the federal election. What happened and why? What was the class significance of this election? Come and here the opinion of the Socialist League, and give us yours.

held at

St Pauls United Church Hall
#121 Avenue Road
Side door on Webster
(one south of Davenport)

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION, CONTACT:
SOCIALIST LEAGUE
85 King Street East
3rd floor
Toronto
M5C1G3
Phone: 363-6755

Dear Sisters and Brothers July 15, 1974

Last Friday morning I asked the Election Committee Chairman to remove my name from the ballot in the Plant Chairman's election of July 16. I now explain my reason

By now most members have read the Memorandum by E.P. Birch, manager of personnel operations, posted on the notice boards Thursday morning. Mr. Birch put forward a fantastic interpretation of the collective agreement. He said: "The company would therefore insist that any negotiations with Local 1967 will only be conducted with employees and in a manner consistant with the terms of the collective agreement."

With this declaration the company has announced its intention to veto Archie Wilson's participation in the negotiations, but also the participation of Frank Fairchild, Jack Kirkby and any other so-called non-employee that our union may feel useful in negotiations.

This declaration is not only out of line with the collective agreement, it is a direct violation of the Ontario Labour Act which bars interference in the internal affairs of the union. Coming at this time it is a direct intervention by the company in the Plant Chairman election. It has prejudiced the vote and fouled the election. No self-respecting trade unionist could contest an election against Brother Archie Wilson under the conditions that the company has now established.

Personally, I did not seek the company's "Good Housekeeping seal of approval" when I stood for election. Now that the company has given it to anyone opposing Archie Wilson I have no recourse but to withdraw.

The problems facing our local are still money, PATTERN OR PARITY with the autoworkers, time and one third for shift work, a meaningful grievance procedure, updating the contract and the job classifications, one year contract, removal of foremen's seniority, etc ,etc.

I withdraw from this company-fouled election. There will be other times and other places where I will speak to the issues facing our local.

fraternally

Hugh Dowson

PLEASE BRING YOUR OWN SLEEPING BAG, PILLOW, FLASHLIGHT, SWIMSUIT, RAINCOAT

SLEEPING CABINS AVAILABLE

PREPARED COMMUNAL MEALS: SAT.-lunch, supper
SUN.-breakfast, lunch, supper
MON.-breakfast, lunch

CAR POOLS LEAVING FROM 53 GERRARD ST. W.

-FRI. JULY 30 AT 7:30 P.M.

-SAT. JULY 31 AT 8:30 A.M.

RETURNING MONDAY AFTERNOON AND EVENING
(for those who have to work on Sat. it might be possible to arrange transportation to camp on Sat. evening)

COST OF FOOD AND LODGING FOR SAT., SUN., MON. IS ONLY $12 PER PERSON($10 if you bring your own tent)

CHILDREN AGED 12 OR UNDER HALF PRICE

IF YOU ARE DRIVING YOUR OWN CAR:
Take the 401 eastbound from Toronto. Turn left at the Deseronto side-road(mile 350) and go north 3.1 mi. Turn left again(you can't turn right) and go 1/4 of a mile. Then turn right and open the gate.

* PLEASE CONTACT US SO THAT PROPER ARRANGEMENTS CAN BE MADE 595-1284

july 31

aug 1

aug 2

CAMP

POUNDMAKER

A WEEK-END OF EDUCATION RECREATION RELAXATION

TWO DISCUSSIONS ON NATIONALISM

1. THE NEW NATIONALISM AS A WORLD PHENOMENON

A Marxist analysis of the thorny question of nationalism, in light of the upsurge of nationalist movements in such countries as Scotland and France. Nationalism in Canada--what is its thrust and how should Marxists respond to it?

Presented by Zahir Antia

2. IMPERIALISM AND THE NATIONAL QUESTION IN CANADA

In this book, Steve Moore and Debi Wells attempt to prove their thesis that Canada is an imperialist power in its own right and therefore nationalism in Canada is a reactionary phenomena. The speaker, Dale Ritch, will discuss Moore and Well's thesis by reviewing three important critiques which have recently appeared in Canadian socialist journals.

Plus

3. WHAT IS THE REAL MEANING OF THE CLC MANIFESTO?

Speaker to be announced.

* Please note that the regular Forward Forum scheduled for July 30 will be cancelled and rescheduled for presentation at Camp Poundmaker.

Vote, elect an NDP government

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

forward

Vol. 1, No. 1. July 1974 Toronto 20 cents

Who actually owns Canada? Who really runs Canada?

by the Editors

Who Owns Canada! Who Runs Canada? And who should own and rule Canada? In whose interests should the great wealth created by the sweat and blood of the working people be used and developed? For the production of what goods and what services? Who should determine their quality and their availability? And how should they be distributed?

That is the central issue confronting the people of Canada day-in and day-out. It is the central issue that is posed by this election right across the country.

The people of Canada have an opportunity to answer these questions by either voting for the Liberals or Progressive Conservatives, both parties of Capital, or by voting Labor, for the NDP. Abstention, as advocated by the P.Q. in Quebec, only favors the Liberal-Tory parties of the status quo.

By the simple fact that there is an NDP candidate in every riding in the country; that the NDP is a labor party firmly rooted in the working class and endorsed by the almost two million strong Canadian Labour Congress; that the NDP is already in office in Saskatchewan, Manitoba and BC; and that for possibly the first time it appears as a credible alternative to thousands of workers suffering under the price gouging and housing crisis, it poses that challenge and the Canadian people have an opportunity to answer these questions in a clear and unequivocal way — by voting NDP.

But this NDP campaign marks a distinct advance. This election, the NDP's chief spokespersons are themselves actually articulating these as the central issues.

In the NDP's campaign kickoff speech to the Ontario provincial executive, Party Leader Lewis, after referring to last election's campaign which centered on the corporate tax and resources rip-off of the Canadian people, said; "in the present campaign we intend to broaden the issues beyond the inequitable tax system ... we are going to pose the blunt and increasingly urgent question: who runs Canada?

"Is it really parliament? Is it really the people with their individual and collective voting power? Or is it the anonymous, unelected and almost utterly unresponsive cluster of decision makers, who decide what we will buy, when it will be available and what we shall pay for it? The answer," he said, "is obvious to every thinking Canadian. Under the Liberals and Conservatives the corporations run Canada."

Using the fingers of the human hand to demonstrate the overriding control that the national and particularly the multinational corporate owners have over every aspect of Canadian society, Lewis came to the overbearing function of the corporate thumb. "It lies heavily across the government institutions of our country," he said, "controlling the financing of the traditional political parties and determining, whatever the Liberals and Tories may pretend, that corporate power in Ottawa never, ever goes into opposition."

→p.2

Free Dr Morgentaler Women's rights martyr

by Ellie Kirzner

"Our fight is a fight for human rights, for freedom to choose, freedom of conscience, freedom of religion. Our fight is for decency and humanity and the most fundamental of freedoms, the right to decent medical care when needed by women who have decided they need an abortion."

This is part of a bold statement issued by Dr. Henry Morgentaler on May 4, nine days after the Quebec Court of Appeal, in scandalous fashion, overturned the earlier decision of the twelve person jury which acquitted him of the first of thirteen charges against him for performing "illegal" abortions. Dr. Morgentaler has for several years been providing safe abortions in his Montreal clinic for women in a province where the overwhelming majority of hospitals have refused to establish abortion committees.

The overturning of the jury decision which had cleared him of the charge renders Morgentaler "guilty" before the courts and makes him liable to life imprisonment. This act of the Quebec Court arrogantly tramples not only on the rights of one man, not only on the rights of women in this country to safe legal abortions, but also on the rights of every citizen to fair legal proceedings. As an angry editorial in the Toronto Globe and Mail phrased it, the court "has declared, in effect, that justice is something too rarified to reside in the hands of the people. In doing this, the court has affronted justice — seriously affronted one of the most valuable components of our

→p3

US OIL BOSSES BLACKMAIL CANADA SABOTAGING SASK OIL PRODUCTION

by G. Deutsch

The profit-gorged U.S. oil moguls who control Canada's oil resources lock stock and barrel have blatantly blackmailed the Saskatchewan NDP government for its attempts to defend the people of that province from their ruthless price-gouging and they are even now arrogantly threatening any federal government that might even think of not toeing their line.

The president of Gulf Oil (Canada) made it clear on June 4 that even inspired leaks to the effect that a Liberal government might revise the lucrative tax exemptions that the industry has been enjoying for years under Liberal-Tory governments, "make it doubtful the industry will be able to meet this country's energy needs beyond

country's energy 1980."

This threat to the country which h shortage, but is a n brought the timid r while Liberal Con Minister Herbert (major companies w

→p.4

In this issue read —

Rank & file revolt at CLC see page 4

Portugal faces the future see page 7

Behind Que language dispute see page 8

forward #1

Editor: Ross Dowson

P2

"The time has come to settle the question as to who runs Canada and to settle it in favor of the Canadian people . . . Canada cannot have a genuine social democracy until the power to make economic decisions, the power to set social priorities is wrested from the hands of the corporations and placed in the hands of the people through a parliament and a government which has removed the corporate thumb from Canada's economic and political life line."

We subscribe to these words!

Of course it is not difficult to criticize the NDP, to point to the questionable qualities of many of its candidates, to certain shortcoming and gaps in its program, and even to the reformist illusions of the leadership which are the underpinnings of these serious shortcomings and gaps.

But such criticisms, no matter how correct, do not constitute a position in the election debate that is dominating the mass media, and which everyone is caught up in. The NDP does pose a real alternative, as a labor party, to the twin political tools of the capitalist class — the Liberals and Tories. A powerful vote behind the NDP and its election into office in Ottawa would mark a significant stride forward to a socialist Canada.

How we see it

by the Editors

Welcome to the readership of **Forward!**

As spelled out on our masthead, **Forward** is a paper published in the interests of the working people. It is written from the point of view of scientific socialism.

It is our view that we need a new type of society in which the vast resources of the country will be planned and developed for production on the basis of "from each according to his or her ability", and in which the necessities of life will be distributed for human use and not for profit, "to each according to his or her needs". This great liberatory idea and its possibility of realization have not permeated the minds of the vast majority of workers, either in the unions or in their labor party, the NDP.

The editors and associates of **Forward** are not only convinced that socialism is a good idea, but that it is necessary to establish workers' power in order to even commence to solve any of the major problems confronting us. We seek to promote this profoundly revolutionary idea and to help organize those who are coming to understand this necessity and to organize to increase our fighting capacity so it can be won.

The problem of how to get to socialism — how to most effectively intervene in the class struggle that permeates Canadian capitalist society and how to resolve it in the interests of the workers — has resulted in the development of several main currents or tendencies. **Forward** is an advocate of what has come to be known, from the name of its greatest exponent Leon Trotsky, as the Trotskyist viewpoint.

The persons who have joined together to publish **Forward** were for a varying number of years associated with another paper called Labor Challenge. After a profound experience of over two years duration, we reluctantly came to the conclusion that Labor Challenge had jettisoned its past and fallen prey to a great danger that confronts all radical formations that are divorced, through no fault of their own, from the working class. This danger is the opposite of opportunism , well-known by radicals — it is sectarianism. This is illustrated, for those interested in checking it out, in a comparison of how Labor Challenge stands on the growing nationalism in Canada which is a response to the process of the continuing economic integration of Canada with the United States; and on the question of the labor party — the NDP.

We of **Forward**, while internationalist in our perspective to the core, consider the rising nationalist consciousness in Canada to be by no means reactionary. As we stated in debate almost a year and a half ago, it "is giving impetus and new dimension to the rank-and-file struggle against the trade union bureaucracy and for union democracy." **Forward** recognizes the key role of this consciousness in the radicalization and intends to link up the essentially anticapitalist dynamic of this new nationalism with socialist conclusions. Our contention about its essential character has been born out in a most remarkable way by events at the Canadian Congress of Labor convention as reported in this issue.

Those associated with the publication of **Forward** have long held to the concept that the NDP is a labor party — that it is the mass expression of the developing politicization of the Canadian working class as a whole. With this understanding of its key significance, we support the NDP, not uncritically of course, but with a long range, strategic concept.

We think that the Canadian working people should enter the NDP in the spirit of establishing "workers' control", and that they should fight to win it to a class struggle program — win it to socialism, that is, to a socialist perspective. Out of this struggle we are convinced that the forces that are necessary to replace capitalist society with socialism will be won.

We hope that you find **Forward** interesting, that you find it useful, that you will tell us your opinion and, if you are able, that you will help us spread its words.

forward
Editor: Ross Dowson

p. 3 — from p. 1

juridicial system."

The Liberals and Conservatives who are clearly responsible for the restrictive abortion laws in the first place have repeatedly blocked the persistent efforts of Grace MacInnis, NDP MP, to raise the repeal issue in the House. As well,

DR. HENRY MORGENTALER

the insulting speech made by Justice Minister Otto Lang in late March calling on the provinces to clamp down on hospital abortions makes it patently obvious that the repeal of the present laws is the farthest thing from the Liberal government's mind.

The position of the New Democratic Party is quite different; it has been on record for some time declaring unequivocally for repeal and that "doctors should no longer face criminal charges for carrying out abortions." Women activists within the Party are organizing to make sure that the case of Dr. Morgentaler and other issues related to women are widely heard.

The fight to repeal oppressive abortion laws is in this decade the opening shot in the battle for the liberation of women. That opponents of women's rights understand the importance of this juncture is evidenced in the full page ad in the **Toronto Star** this month, sponsored by the "Right to Life" and paid for by the Knights of Columbus. Featuring a picture of a baby the ad urges its readers to "Fight Abortion". Dripping with a humanism which is false and hypocritical to the core the ad states that the baby is "Never to Smile, Never to Taste the Summer". Ignoring the established fact of the mutilation of women by botched illegal abortions, the ad reveals its patently anti-human thrust. Surely the joy of new life can only be a reality when every mother is a willing mother and every child a wanted child.

The choice to terminate a pregnancy must be in the hands of every woman — not just of those who can afford to trip to New York, or those who have the stamina and connections to make their way through the hospital board procedure — but **all** women, primarily working women and those in rural areas who suffer most from the unjust law.

What we witness at this point in the Morgentaler case is what he himself termed a "spirit of vengeance against women" — an aggressive offensive by the right, reflected on the judicial level, and in the letter writing campaigns and other efforts of the Right to Life. Only a forthright response from womens liberation activitists, the trade union movement, the NDP, and all those who are concerned with democratic rights can turn the tide in Morgentaler's case before he reaches the Supreme Court sometime next fall. The silence must be broken!

forward #1

Editor: Ross Dowson

US oil corporations sabotage Sask.

P.4 — from p. 1

1980."

This threat to the sovereignty of a country which has no energy shortage, but is a net exporter, has brought the timid reply from erstwhile Liberal Consumers Affairs Minister Herbert Gray that "the major companies would get as good a break from the Canadian government as in any other country." Would-be Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, before a crowd the following night in Alberta, uttered not a word of protest against the U.S. oil cartels' threats to sabotage the Canadian economy. He blamed the governments of Alberta, and of course particularly Saskatchewan. "The government's real fight," he said, according to the Toronto Star "was with the provincial governments of Alberta and Saskatchewan which were making more than their share . . ." Trudeau is cynically manipulating the threat in the hope of chipping away a few seats from the NDP in Saskatchewan and establishing a majority government.

The oil bosses have already

continued on page 5

continued from page 1

crippled production in Saskatchewan by pulling out their rigs and cutting back on their budgets which have resulted in widespread cutbacks by some 11 companies dependent on the exploration. They commenced this squeeze in December last year when the NDP government passed Bill 42.

Bill 42 was an attempt to block any more windfall profits going to the oil bosses and to ensure that any future price increases would go to the public treasury and thus he available for needed social legislation. Premier Blakeney explained at the time that "these actions mean that we will be limiting the future profits of the oil companies. I make no apologies for doing so," he said, "the companies are already making large enough profits."

"We say it's time for the people of Saskatchewan to take charge of our oil and to take it out of the hands of international oil companies with their ability to manipulate and manage world prices. When the federal government's freeze on western oil is lifted in the spring and prices begin to move sharply upward," Blakeney anticipated "it will be Saskatchewan, instead of private oil companies, that will reap the benefit."

No sooner did the Saskatchewan government announce its intentions when the president of Pennant-Puma Oil, G.S. Brant, and developer J.H. Van de Venter, warned that exploration for oil and gas in the province may cease because of the proposed legislation. They were joined by the Saskatchewan division head of the Canadian Petroleum Association who threatened exploration budget cutbacks and even higher prices.

While many NDPers urged Saskatchewan to respond to this pressure by placing the industry, or some key sectors of it, under public ownership, Blakeney counted on the oil bosses backing off. But it was only a matter of hours after Blakeney presented Bill 42 when the exploration industry commenced its mass exodus from southeastern Saskatchewan. Blakeney has suggested that he is prepared to make certain changes in Bill 42 to accommodate the oil companies, however the escalation of their threats, ostensibly directed at the federal government, challenge Blakeney once again with action in the direction of public ownership.

NDP party leader David Lewis has vigorously denounced the oil industry's threat as "a direct challenge to our political autonomy and economic independence." "Amoco's and Texaco's announcement at this time," he declared, "shows to what lengths they are prepared to go in their attempts to help maintain the stranglehold foreign multinationals have had on our oil and gas resources.

"Taken together with the actions of several oil companies involved in the threat this spring to withdraw from Saskatchewan we have the oil industry posing a direct challenge to our political autonomy and economic independence."

Lewis stated that an NDP government in Ottawa would throw the challenge back in the face of the petroleum industry by nationalizing "one or two of the major oil corporations . . . so complacent, and they feel so secure in their position of control, that they think they can get away with anything at all, and they usually do."

help!

We need your aid to get this issue around across the country. Order a bundle to circulate to your friends, to people where you work, on your campus or in your neighborhood. It only costs 75 cents for a bundle of five copies, postage paid.

Please send me ..... bundle(s). I enclose $.....
name .....

address .....

.....

Forward Publishing Assoc., Box 778, Adelaide St. P.O., Toronto. M5C 2K1.

forward #1 July 1974

Reforms won by NDP governments, socialist answers are way forward

by William Brant

The various reforms enacted by the NDP provincial governments are the most far-reaching in the country, and have won them continued support among the working population. They have pioneered no-fault public auto insurance; abolished medicare premiums; upped the minimum wage, where in B.C. it is now the highest in Canada at $2.50 an hour; and increased old-age pensions considerably (in B.C. to $200 a month) as well as welfare benefits. In Manitoba, prior to the last provincial election and the latest bout of inflation, reforms such as these were calculated to have saved the average worker over $400.

The taxation policies of the NDP provincial governments, on the other hand, especially in the field of natural resources, have incurred the wrath and open opposition of the corporations. Manitoba has doubled the taxation on mining companies and increased royalties from 5 to 23 per cent on the larger operations. Similar legislation was introduced this spring in B.C. And these are merely two instances.

But while the NDP's record in provincial power has indicated the advantages of the NDP to workers, it has also revealed something else — the inadequacy of these measures to solve in any substantial way the basic problems facing workers, such as galloping inflation, continued high unemployment and inadequate housing.

All the parties in the political spectrum are advocating reform. For the parties of big business, the Liberals and the Tories, reforms are a necessary means of ensuring continued broad support among a dissatisfied population. To be sure, many of the reforms they advocate turn out to be empty promises. But some are actually enacted, and represent concessions to the working class, without whose support they could not govern. Reforms for the Liberals and Tories are designed to not in anyway weaken capitalism but on the contrary to sustain them in political office and to sustain capitalism as a system.

On the other hand, for NDPers reforms serve a different purpose. NDPers see reforms as protecting them against the encroachments of the bosses and their governments and improving their living standards. But for many NDPers reforms are not just of an essentially defensive character, to be contained within the framework of modifying the system. They are viewed as part of a program and strategy to change the system.

Some of these NDPers, primarily the leadership of this labor party formation who give it the physiognomy of a reformist party, hope that through an accumulation of reforms they will gradually alleviate and eventually eliminate the economic and social ills bred by capitalism. Ultimately, in this way these NDPers who sometimes call themselves socialists, expect to establish a new society. Through a gradual accumulation of reforms they expect to eliminate altogether the need to strike at the fundamental roots of the system, to eliminate the need for such drastic measures as revolution to achieve socialism.

But just how amenable is the capitalist system to such a strategy of reform? The record of post war capitalism ought to provide some answers.

Throughout this period, capitalism experienced an unparalleled economic and technological expansion especially here in North America. The productive capacities and wealth of capitalist society have never been greater. And over the course of this period, several reforms, many of them quite significant, have been won by workers.

B.C. PREMIER BARRETT, SASK. PREMIER BLAKENEY AND FORMER PARTY LEADER T.C. DOUGLAS

Record budgets have been legislated which have financed a tremendous expansion in education, health, welfare and other benefits. Many of the governments which have enacted such reforms have been governments headed by parties not unlike the NDP in philosophy and in composition, such as the Labor parties of Britain, Australia, and New Zealand, What has been the result? How willing and able has capitalism been to make the adjustments necessary to solve the social injustices of the system? Not a bit.

Take poverty, for instance. According to a report issued last fall by a National Task Force on Poverty, here in Canada, which enjoys the world's second highest living standard, the poor have made virtually no progress in twenty years. Nearly one quarter of our population still lives below the (official) poverty line. And over two-thirds of our senior citizens are yet to be found even in that category.

The tremendous expansion in education facilities and opportunities was expected by many to overcome a good deal of the problems facing the disadvantaged. Not so, according to the Economic Council of Canada's André Reynauld. He has pointed particularly to the plight of women and French Canadians, two of the most disadvantaged sectors, among whom there has been scarcely any progress at all through education.

→p. 2

D.2

This seems to be further verified by a recent Ontario Status of Women Council report which documented the fact that as far as education opportunities are concerned, women are little better off today, and in some respects are actually worse off, than they were forty to fifty years ago!

Most of the figures for these reports are over three years old. In the meantime, inflation has mushroomed, sending profits soaring to unheard-of levels while wages are gobbled up in no time. In just this past year, for instance, the average price of a house in Metro Toronto shot up 41.8 per cent. With such rates, the ownership of a home has become unattainable to most workers, and inferior, high-cost shelter is the only alternative. Even the much-touted Trefann Court experiment in Toronto, which was long hailed as a model in housing reform, seems to have now fallen fate to the market economy: the inhabitants will now either have to rent the homes from the city, or leave them for speculators to buy them up and sell at exhorbitant prices.

If reform hasn't helped solve much in wealthy Canada, the same is a hundred times more true for the vast majority of the world's population, the inhabitants of Asia, Africa and Latin America — in spite of numerous aid and trade programs. According to a recent World Bank report, the poor nations

continued on page 3

continued from page 2

of the world have not merely been suffering an increase in poverty in relative terms but in absolute figures. The report holds out a grim prospect: it concedes the possibility that famines, epidemics and wars may perhaps be the only solution!

The simple sad fact is that gradual reform in itself is not even capable of alleviating, let alone eliminating, the misery and insecurity that capitalism breeds both here at home and abroad. Leon Trotsky wrote back in 1938 that in this epoch "in general there can be no discussion of systematic social reforms and the raising of the masses' living standards . . ."

The very nature of the system makes this so. Capitalism is an international system, for one, and simple reform cannot make Canada or any other country immune to the tremendous pressures of the international market — especially Canada, a small capitalist power. And in our epoch — the epoch of imperialist decay — the great corporations which run Canada and the world are constantly forced to rationalize production and to maximize profits to the utmost.

Nothing short of a total transformation of social relations is necessary if we are to overcome the social injustices of capitalism. Canada has the wealth and power to begin to solve these problems; only it is tied up in the private hands of the few giant corporations that own and run the country andmost of the world. These mighty enterprises must not just be taxed a little more; they must be placed under the public ownership and control of the vast majority — the working people of this country — and their wealth and power harnessed to produce for public need, not for private profit.

This will be accomplished through the combined action of the working people and all the oppressed of this country united around a program that includes not only progressive reforms, but measures which challenge the very ownership and control of our economy. It will require a class struggle program that commences from the needs of the working people and their present level of consciousness and takes them forward in struggle for power. That program must be developed and fought for in the trade unions and the labor party — the NDP.

forward #1 July 1974

The freak-out and fall-out

by Wayne Roberts

"It just sounds like good sense to me," a woman at the place where I work told me after I had explained to her why I, as a socialist and a member of the Socialist League, support the NDP.

Indeed it is logical that revolutionary socialists, who are a small minority of the population, should link up with and support the major expression of independent labor political action in the country — why we should work for its success, and work with NDP members to make the only labor party formation on the North American continent serve the interests of the working people.

But among the left in Canada, those who have this orientation seem to be in a distinct minority. Every socialist current but the Trotskyist Socialist League and **Forward** is using the opportunity of this election to divorce itself from the NDP and its achievements, which are the achievements of the working class itself. Some are fielding candidates in several ridings where of course the NDP is running, and others are presenting an extensive list of candidates across the country.

The Canadian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) was the first into the lists with 90 candidates. As they will no doubt follow the pattern of their previous campaigns, they will be covering the hoardings with their declaration that the Liberals, Tories and the NDP are all the same. Most people will probably become first aware of them only when they notice their name on the ballot.

The latest to appear on the hustings is a group associated with the U.S. National Caucus of Labor Committees. Its two candidates, one in Toronto and another in Vancouver, have assumed a somewhat pretentious name — The Canadian Labor Party. With the information now at our disposal it would appear that they are going to ignore the parties of the capitalist class and zero in on the NDP. One of their spokesmen puts it this way: "The NDP and David Lewis are in the clutches of the Rockefellers and we are going to freak them out with the tremendous impact we can have politically."

Communist Party

The Communist Party is qualifying as a "party" to get its name on the ballot by running 67 candidates in a campaign calling for another minority government. This low cost diplomatic corps of the Soviet bureaucrats is suggesting in the most subtle way that it is pro-NDP, despite its long list of candidates who will be in contest with the NDP in all the seats in the major urban centres. But it is clearly leaving its options open to the Liberals in its support of the detente worked out by Nixon and Kosygin, and applied to Canada.

Along with still another group — the Canadian Party of Labor — trumpeting "Workers' Power", which they pose as an opposition strategy to an NDP government, these campaigns are a familiar chorus. But this election is different in that three new groupings have been added to the list.

The Trotskyist League for Socialist Action La Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere has departed from its longstanding tradition of supporting the NDP, and for the first time, aside from an occasion in Quebec where the NDP is not established, is fielding a candidate — in Toronto Eglinton. This continues their campaign of all-out attack on the NDP and fundamental and principled differentiation of themselves from the NDP as a party, that they have been waging in the pages of **Labor Challenge** over the last year.

Last election its editorials enthusiastically and even somewhat extravagantly identified with the NDP federal campaign, including the re-election of NDP provincial governments to power, as constituting "big strides in the path that the working people are taking towards breaking, not only from capitalist electoral politics but from capitalism as a system." In an official statement the LSA/LSO now "call for an NDP government" but qualify that it must be "an NDP government with socialist policies." Since it is obvious that the NDP, if it were elected to Ottawa on July 8 would not meet their "socialist policies" criteria, it is difficult to grasp what their support actually amounts to.

LSA Switch

Although they still concede that the NDP provides an alternative to the parties of Big Business, they endlessly repeat that the NDP leadership offers "no effective solutions" to workers' problems, has "no program for mobilizing workers" and that "the NDP leadership's strategy and program are not anti-capitalist" but in fact they are "pro-capitalist."

Aside from the confusion arising out of their support of the NDP "as an avenue for working class action," while opposing everything it stands for in real life, they reveal both a casual ignorance of NDP policy and an astounding naivete about the possibilities of using this electoral campaign. All the "challenges" that they would pose to NDP candidates are reflected in the NDP program and will give them no difficulty whatever; and besides there is a distinct difference between elections

→P. 2

over support of the NDP

p2

and long range riding work as fighting grounds for socialist policies in the party.

The LSA has also been using this election to highlight their attack on what they term the "parliamentary bloc" of the NDP with the Liberals. This, they charge, violated the NDP's class independence, perhaps even constituted some kind of coalition or Popular Front. This "sleeping with the Liberals" theme, initially sponsored by Tory leader Stanfield to describe the NDP's scepticism as to the value of replacing a Liberal government with a Tory one, has unfortunately found its way into the revolutionary press.

In fact on key class questions, the rail strike and taxes on corporations, it was Stanfield who "slept with the Liberals". The NDP voted against the government and the Tories on all the key amendments. In critically supporting certain Liberal measures and winning limited concessions, the NDP has not betrayed independent class politics. They have acted as union negotiators do in post-contract struggles: the balance of forces has already been tested — in election or strike — and the union must either project the workers into risky strikes, or maneuver within the established framework until a favorable time arises to alter that relationship.

The Revolutionary Marxist Group, another Trotskyist group, has also announced its intention to contest three ridings. They have deliberately chosen strong NDP ridings in which to present their views. They are opposing NDP foreign affairs specialist Andrew Brewin, and Stanley Knowles, the NDP federal caucus whip.

The RMG has no intention of offering an electoral alternative. Indeed, as their tabloid announces, in the spirit that the Canadian people are confronted with an electoral farce, they declare in blaring headlines: "For the working class there are no parliamentary solutions. Rely only on your own organizations, your own struggles!"

It is unclear what relevance this has to Canadian workers today who see parliament attack their standard of living and restrict their ability to struggle. The lesson of the rail strike and the Ontario teachers struggle, far more than what comes out of the "who's sleeping with who" debate, demonstrated the serious importance of a legislature hostile to workers. That is why only now are workers beginning to move in massive numbers to support the NDP. By emphasizing the irrelevance of parliament, thus leaving the capitalist politicians unchallenged control of the legislative process, the RMG only underlines its own irrelevancy to the workers.

The Waffle

The Waffle, which is fielding three and possibly four candidates in Ontario, where it is the largest of the left groupings, is presenting itself as "a party to end U.S. control of Canada" through "a socialist program designed to replace private foreign ownership with Canadian public ownership."

From their first campaign literature it would appear that they hope to evade coming to grips with the NDP in a serious way. From the extended Jim Laxer leaflet they would appear to think that they can leave it, with the comment that "the NDP leadership, under the influence of American unions would not tolerate the Waffle's call for an independent socialist Canada and for an independent Canadian labor movement."

But their highlighting of U.S. domination of Canada is equalled in more than one NDP candidate's campaign, Lucan Robinson's in Toronto for instance, and their energy proposals differ not in substance but only in detail from those of the NDP's. They are certain to have the same difficulty as all the other groups on the revolutionary left — of differentiating themselves in their worked-out program from that of the NDP's which encompasses them — even though in a bits and pieces way and not a total or strategic way.

In other statements, notwithstanding their previous breathtaking successes in winning NDP ranks to their program and leadership while they were in the NDP, they have resorted to the most extravagant attacks on the NDP. In the trade union program that they developed for the CLC convention last month they proposed the CLC disaffiliate from the NDP. As to be expected, the delegates who committed the CLC to Canadian trade union autonomy which the Waffle has advocated for some time, considered that the Waffle is anti-NDP, against the labor party and certainly in this respect irrelevant to their struggles.

The revolutionary left has no reason to concede to the NDP a monopoly of electoral politics. Whether they should or should not run a few candidates in select ridings in order to present their full program is a tactical question. But it is a tactical question of enormous significance. It must be admitted that the revolutionary left, composed mainly of militants who have come out of the student youth radicalization, is isolated from the working class who only now are beginning to radicalize in big numbers. The challenge before the revolutionary left is to seek out any and every opportunity to sink roots into the ranks of the working class, to patiently nuture these roots and to be prepared to patiently go through some real experiences with the class. It is now obvious that the working class are going to go through an extended experience with the NDP — in the process of which the socialist vanguard will be forged.

For the Waffle and the LSA-RMG their present course is truly disastrous. Over the years both have done much to legitimatize themselves and their views in the minds of important layers of the NDP membership which the Lewis machine has been compelled to recognize. Trotskyism has an unblemished record which the LSA/LSO and the RMG seem hell bent in wiping out.

In their furious hatred of the NDP leadership every current on the left but the Socialist League has lost sight of the class and their responsibilities as socialists to the class and the party which the class considers to be its own. Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, who most of these groups and their supports invoke, must be turning over in their graves.

forward #1 July 1974

Nationalism spurs autonomy struggle

Rank & file revolt at CLC

by Ross Dowson

In the course of five days of stormy sessions, the 2,500 delegates assembled in Vancouver last month, representing over 1,800,000 members of the Canadian Congress of Labor, discussed and passed a whole series of important motions and policy statements.

They hailed the NDP as labor's political arm, cheering party leader David Lewis to the rafters as he blasted the Liberals and Tories as parties of the corporate interests. They endorsed a resolution calling for the reopening of all wage contracts and the establishment of cost of living allowance clauses (COLA) to protect workers from inflationary wage cuts.

They elected the first woman to the executive of the CLC in the person of CUPE leader Shirley Carr. They thunderously responded to the cry of Cesar Chavez — Viva la huelga, Viva la causa — and made an on the floor donation of $3,500 to the California grape boycott struggle. They challenged the Canadian government with violating the most elementary rights of political asylum to the victims of the Chilean military coup and demanded that harassed Bernardo Arrano be granted landed immigrant status.

Delegate Gilbert MacIntyre scored the CLC leadership's economic policy statement as "lukewarm and as in no way an indictment of the economic policy being followed in this country". He ridiculed the CLC call for $150 a month old age pension by noting that the BC NDP government already pays over $200. Some delegates protested the failure of the CLC leadership to project the mobilization of the forces of the CLC in a coordinated struggle against inflationary wage cuts such as the Common Front of Quebec's unions did on May 1st.

But these were not what this CLC convention was all about. They were not the questions that the delegates streamed into Vancouver to grapple with. They came above all to come to grips with the problem of leadership as it confronts the CLC itself. It was the issue of nationalism and autonomy which concerned them above all else.

Nationalism

Only a little over a year ago Dennis McDermott, Canadian director of the United Autoworkers, in a statement to the membership, cautioned international (US-based) unions against dismissing "the fervent nationalistic attitudes that pervade this country." "It is my current belief," he warned, "that unless international unions in Canada can make some fairly drastic accommodations and adjustments to the needs of the current emotions that exist in this country then the role of the international unions is in serious jeopardy. Indeed their very survival as an effective entity is in serious jeopardy." Genuine international unionism in Canada, as a true partner, is one thing, he said. A U.S. union with a branch-plant mentality, and Canada treated as an occasional patronizing afterthought, is something else.

Only 9 months ago Donald Secord, president of the CBRT&GW, told the delegates at their Toronto convention that the nationalist sentiment among Canadian union members will continue to grow "until Canada has an entirely self-governing and self-sufficient labor movement." Speaking on bebalf of the union which encompassed the only members of the seven non-operating railway unions to defy Ottawa's September 1st back-to-work decree, he said the CBRT & GW "welcomes this nationalist awakening."

He ridiculed the CLC brass for going "on the offensive against nationalist forces within the union movement . . . instead of pressing ahead with a renewed campaign to bring better servicing and more Canadian autonomy to American-union members in this country." They are fighting a losing battle, he declared, in efforts to delay the inevitable — an independent Canadian labor movement in maybe 10 years time.

This Vancouver CLC convention provided substantial evidence to judge the validity of Secord's prediction. It would appear that the CLC, and the 70 percent who are members of international unions with head offices in the U.S., will become an independent trade union center long before ten years have passed. If the well-heeled business-union bureaucrats who manipulate the U.S. central operations for their own petty purposes do not make some far-reaching accommodations to this irreversible demand an explosion will take place that could open up whole new horizons to the Canadian working class.

Canadian Autonomy

It is nationalism that has given the struggle for Canadian autonomy, now a key aspect of the struggle for trade union democracy, a whole new dynamic and that set fire to this CLC convention. The explosion that burst out on the CLC convention floor caused labor columnist Wilfred List of the **Globe and Mail** to write "the old order has crumpled, the era of power brokers destroyed," and Ed Finn of the **Star** to characterize the convention as "a historic turning point" — "what happened was a rank and file revolt."

This nationalism was expressed in the form of demands that: the CLC should be a genuine alliance of Canadian unionists who decide their own policies free from the manipulation of US central office-appointed roadmen and the blocs that sections of the Canadian trade union bureaucracy have formed with them to frustrate the aspirations of the rank and file;

→p.2

p. 2

that CLC affiliates should meet some standards that could qualify them as being controlled by the Canadian ranks; and that there should be serious moves to overcome the fragmentation of the Canadian union movement. Half of the 87 U.S.-based unions that in all represent about 70 percent of the CLC membership have fewer than 500 members. As things now stand there can be no mergers without U.S. head-office consent or unless prior mergers take place in the U.S. itself. If a merger takes place in the U.S. as in the recent case of the Brewery workers with the Teamsters, the merger is automatic in Canada, regardless of the wishes of the Canadian membership.

This nationalism has fused with and accelerated the struggle for democracy in the unions without which they can only degenerate into instruments of the capitalist state. At the Edmonton congress it surfaced in the form of a reform caucus, supported by a scattering of delegates, which won the acceptance by the convention of a series of standards that CLC affiliates should measure up to. This Vancouver convention was confronted with an alliance of six national unions — the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Transport and General Workers Union (CBRT&GW), the Letter Carriers Union of Canada (LCUC), the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW), the Public Service Alliance of Canada (PSAC) and the BC Government Employees Union (BCGEW), who have had working relations with the Quebec Federation of Labor, and which firmed up at this convention.

Over 50 resolutions calling for various degrees of Canadian autonomy had been submitted both by locals in national unions and locals in unions with their head offices and the bulk of their members in the U.S. CUPE, the fastest growing union, nosing out Steel as the biggest in the congress, was gearing to send a bloc of 650 delegates — about a quarter of the delegates.

CUPE Attacked

Last fall the CLC executive moved in on the jurisdiction of CUPE in order to strengthen its own base by granting CLC chartered local status to government employees in Alberta, Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island. CUPE claimed that these groups are far from being unions, are cosy little empires of their leaders who settle for restricted bargaining rights and accept compulsory arbitration. CUPE delegates were authorized by their convention to split their union from the CLC if the brass did not pull back. It was in the process of this fight that a reform caucus of national unions was formed, primarily around demands for the extension and enforcement of Canadian autonomy standards.

The retirement of President Donald MacDonald and the hierarchy's decision to nominate Joe Morris as his replacement, causing secretary treasurer Dodge to resign, shook up the leadership. They decided to throw a sop to the reform group by making CUPE leader Shirley Carr one of their executive nominees, but refused to give an inch to the continued pressure of the Quebec Federation of Labor for modest autonomous rights, standing firm behind Steel leader Beaudry against the QFL's nominee Julien Major of the Paperworkers.

The Steel leadership tried to gear their forces against the reform bloc at their annual policy conference, as did the building trades brass at a closed conference, on the very eve of the convention. The heads of the building trades unions, many of them exorbitantly paid appointees of their U.S. offices over locals that are often little more than job trusts, have long been one of the most powerful cliques in the CLC leadership's power plays.

Far from resulting in a consolidation of the delegates from the building trades unions, the closed conference revealed widespread dissatisfaction. The Canadian advisory board to the AFL-CIO building trades department in Washington, composed of the senior international union representatives of each of the 17 major building trades unions, presented a resolution to the conference. It was to the effect that the building trades should withdraw from the CLC — if the modest CLC executive concessions to the reform group were adopted at the coming week's CLC congress.

Brass Defeated

This split-threat was defeated by the delegates by a vote of 116 to 98. The chief force in its defeat was the delegation from the BC construction unions — 95 delegates in all — many fresh from the picket lines on jobsites throughout the Greater Vancouver area.

While the Steel leadership was able to get the delegates to their annual conference to adopt a statement on "Nationalism, Autonomy and International Unionism", a demagogic attack against the forces for Canadian union autonomy, they were shamefacedly compelled to admit that their own much-vaunted constitution "contains a flaw." This admission by the National Executive Board was made in the process of a debate over the expulsion of a Port Colborne steelworker for being a member of the Communist Party in violation of the anti-communist clause in the Steelworkers International constitution. One of the speakers in favor of some Canadian autonomy resolutions, a delegate from Trail Local 480, warned that Steel would lose this key local "in less than a year" unless it listened to the nationalist aspirations of young Canadian workers for more

→p 3

Referendum on Cdn autonomy worries trade union brass

In his opening address to the Vancouver Canadian Congress of Labor convention, visibly worried about the issue of Canadian autonomy and nationalism, retiring President Donald Macdonald praised "the responsible fashion" in which the Canadian section of the United Paperworkers International Union and the parent body in the United States agreed on separation.

"No one," he hurried to add, however, "should regard that decision as a blue print for all international unions."

Only a matter of weeks before, the Canadian members of the United Paperworkers cast a landslide vote of 26,818 to 4,149 in favor of secession from the international union. The ballots cast represented about 60 per cent of the union's membership in Canada.

L. H. Lorrain, Canadian vice president and director of the US-based union, affirmed that the Canadian union, holding its founding convention in Toronto on June 3, will maintain close ties with their fellow US unionists and that a committee will soon meet to discuss financial compensation to the new Canadian national union. The formation of the new union poses a challenge to the Pulp and Paperworkers of Canada, the major base of support of the Confederation of Canadian Unions, which broke from the international in the sixties over the question of Canadian trade union autonomy.

In an interview following her election as an executive vice-president of the CLC, Shirley Carr expressed the hope that by the next convention those unions that are part of international organizations will have been able to come to grips with the adopted guidelines on Canadian autonomy. It's an issue, she said, that should be settled through a referendum.

p 3

autonomy.

The Steel Brass' statement is a hypocritical attempt to counterpose internationalism — astonishing as this is, considering the source — to an independent democratic Canadian unionism in free association with the U.S. working class and the workers of the world. It strikes out against demands for Canadian trade union autonomy at the same time as it strikes out against the demands of the Quebec Federation of Labor for special status within the CLC. It equates them and opposes both in a spurious appeal for unity.

"Significant numbers of Steelworkers in English-speaking Canada and in Quebec hold different and even conflicting views on where they put their national identity. To link together issues of national identity and trade union structure would be most unrepresentative and most suicidal," reads the Steel statement, "for even the Canadian integrity of our union."

The Quebec Federation of Labor proposed to the delegates assembled at the CLC convention that the Federation have jurisdiction over education in Quebec, that money now paid into the CLC for this purpose be turned over to the QFL which should have jurisdiction over Quebec labor councils and the staffs servicing these councils.

When the CLC brass presented a motion to reject Quebec's demands, the delegates rose up in a great outburst to defeat it. Steel leaders' charges, that Laberge's claim that recognition of Quebec's demands will strengthen Canadian labor would on the contrary only serve to weaken the unity of Canadian labor, were in vain. Humbled by the delegates who made it crystal clear that any move to refer it back to the constitutional committee could not on this occasion be used as a device to postpone action on it — the leadership on the following day recommended endorsation.

Quebec Win

A highly elated Louis Laberge told a press conference that the CNTU will no longer be able to accuse "us of being dominated from Ottawa and Washington." Thus the congress witnessed not a conflict, but an alliance of those forces seeking recognition of the nationalist aspirations of the Quebec workers, and the Canadian nationalists — those favoring a militant and independent Canadian union movement.

The efforts of the CLC hierarchy to defuse the struggle for Canadian union autonomy were no more successful. Along with their gesture to include CUPE leader Carr on the executive, they offered two more concessions — one, that Canadian sections of US-based unions that are affiliated to a world-wide labor trade secretariat would have separate Canadian affiliation, and another, aimed at removing remaining barriers under international constitutions against participation of Canadian members in political affairs.

The existing guidelines inclnde (1) election of Canadian officers by Canadians, (2) determination of policies dealing with Canadian affairs by elected Canadian officers and or members, and (3) authority to be bested with Canadian elected representatives to speak for the union in Canada.

Of the 87 affiliated internationals consulted in a survey by the CLC in December 1972 — 18 did not even bother to answer, 6 admitted to meeting none, 5 claimed to meet one, 21 claimed to meet two and only 37 claimed to meet all three existing guidelines. The guidelines had only the character of advice, and failed to suggest that adherence was required, and within a given time.

The reform unions wanted to broaden the guidelines so that Canadian members would control all dues, and Canadian sections would have the right to undertake mergers without international office consent. They also wanted action, and sought to establish a deadline of December 31, 1977 — 3½ years — for compliance.

Labor Minister Munro

Guest speaker Labor Minister John Munro, in his address to the delegates, expressed his approval of the line of the CLC brass as outlined by retiring President Donald MacDonald the day before. "While ardent nationalism can in some areas be both wholesome and beneficial," he said, "this is not one of these areas. I wholeheartedly agree," he said, "that there are disruptive and destructive forces whose preoccupation is simply with raiding established bargaining units. I do not wish and will resist any attempt to associate me with those particular people."

The Liberal party labor minister's arrogant intervention in a dispute before the delegates provoked a question in a subsequent press conference as to whom he had been referring. He singled out the powerful and militant Quebec Confederation of National Unions and the tiny Congress of National Unions.

Following their humiliating defeat on Quebec autonomy, the executive proposed that compliance with the guidelines should be "within a reasonable" time, that the congress executive itself be given the power to suspend an affiliate should it fail to comply, and that a 2 3 vote be required before any action "after full discussions." The debate, no sooner had it commenced to burst out on the floor, was quashed when

continued on page 4

DELEGATES ASSEMBLED AT CANADIAN LABOR CONGRESS CONVENTION IN VANCOUVER, MAY 13-18.

p.4

continued from page 3

Laberge, with his greatly enhanced authority from the blow he had dealt the establishment in the Quebec debate, followed by Stanley Little, national president of CUPE, intervened to back the hierarchy's recommendation — a compromise that referred the dispute for reconsideration to the incoming executive.

Delegates Protest

This compromise did not go down well with a sizeable block of delegates. The CUPE vote was split. And at the last moment a relatively unknown entered the contest against Joe Morris for the presidency, Gilbert McIntyre — a staff representative of the CBRT&GW from Nova Scotia who polled 842 votes against 1,448 for Morris.

CUPE was also assured that its proposal for the formation of a national union of provincial government employees and a moratorium on the entry of other provincial government employees would be acted upon. Morris promised as president that he was for a national union by October 1, 1975.

The executive elections indicated the depth of the delegates' dissatisfaction. Three of the four executive posts up for election went to the reform slate, with Major polling 1,479 votes to Beaudry's 873 votes.

It is probable that the reform forces could have taken over the congress and established a new leadership. But it was apparent that they had not come at all prepared to do so. The depth of the discontent, no doubt, surprised everyone. Overriding the congress was the threat of split. Several building trades leaders, despite the known opposition of their membership, openly talked of split. It is certain that the reform caucus was not at all prepared for that eventuality.

With this convention the struggle for an independent and militant Canadian trade union movement made a decisive breakthrough and there is no turning back. The U.S. leadership of the internationals are going to have to adjust to this reality, or set off forces that will completely reshape the Canadian trade union movement.

forward #1 July 1974

Government bill imperils Quebec language rights

by John Morgan

The debate around the future of the French language in Quebec has surged to the fore again this time in reaction to the Liberal government's Bill 22 proposed by Premier Bourassa in mid-May. The burning question of how the language of the vast majority in Quebec is to prevail and become dominant in work and education has fast moved beyond the walls of l'Assemblee nationale, where the Liberals possess a crushing majority and the independentist Parti Quebecois, which is leading the opposition to it in parliament, holds a mere six seats.

Inevitably, the real epicenter of the debate has shifted to Montreal, the administrative and industrial center of Quebec where both Francophones and Anglophones are concentrated, and where, especially since the inception of the infamous Bill 63, the considerable weight of immigrants has been thrown largely on the side of the Anglophones. The immigration continues to add increasing weight to the Anglo-Saxon core, now 40 per cent of the population there, as very few learn French despite the official federal policy of bilingualism. They naturally seek the advantage of speaking the language that is dominant in business and thus they become isolated from the culture of the majority, and from a knowledge of or sympathy with the aspirations of the Quebecois. The two solitudes, Francophones and Anglophones, exist shoulder to shoulder, and Bill 22 perpetuates this division at its roots in its maintenance of the two languages in the schools on an equal basis, and in failing to legislate French as the language of work or business administration in any meaningful way.

Bourassa's Bill 22 is being condemned by Anglophones, Francophones and other language groups alike. The bill, while claiming to establish French as the sole "official" language in Quebec, in the next breath reassures the English-speaking population that English will be on an equal footing with French in the educational system through the maintenance of two school networks. Thus it reaffirms the "acquired rights" of the Anglophones to a parallel publicly-financed educational system alongside the French system. It differs from existing legislation (Bill 63) only in that it declares that English-speaking immigrants to Quebec alone have the right to opt for the English-language schools; all other immigrants are obliged to enroll in the French system, unless they can demonstrate their children's competency in English.

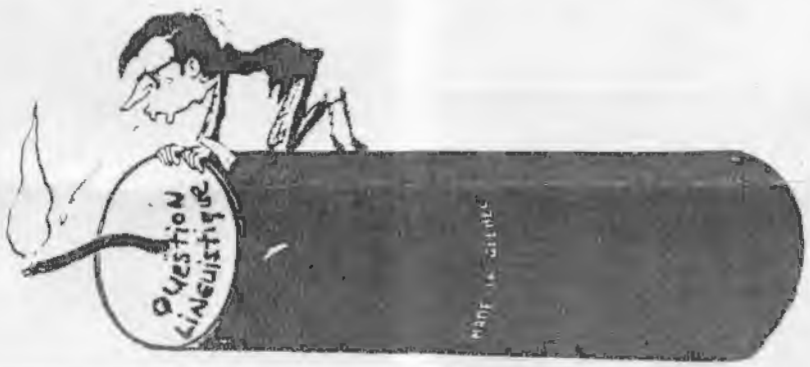
Thus, there is an apparent shift in favor of the French schools from the terms of Bill 63 which declared full parental freedom of choice of language instruction, regardless of prior knowledge of one language or the other. However, as the nationalist left has energetically pointed out, certain other factors suggest a governmental slight-of-hand in the process.

Education Minister Cloutier, who now takes the brunt of criticism, has been accused of declaring before a meeting of Anglophones that the law would not prevent the passage of immigrants to English schools. Although he denies this statement and defends the bill as the "moderate" response to the problem of the French language, two major factors bear out this fear on the part of the Quebecois. First, there has been a heavy swing of immigrants, and even Quebecois children, to the English schools during the less than three years of Bill 63 regime. Second, federal immigration policies have shifted equally heavily toward a more and more lop-sided influx of English-speaking "neo-quebecois".

The scepticism of the nationalist left in Quebec is solidly based. The mass opposition generated by Bill 22 in fact indicates that the Bill 63 chickens are coming home to roost. The hard logic of what was termed the struggle for "French unilingualism" has become more generally accepted. Reflecting this sentiment, such organizations as the Human Rights League, various French-language teachers' associations, leading figures in the union movement and even in the Parti Quebecois have stated that, firstly, the issue of language of instruction in the schools is the key, and second, that French must be established as the sole language of instruction, with English or various other tongues taught as second languages.

More significantly, the Federation of Italian Associations, representing the most important immigrant nationality in Montreal, has attacked Bill 22 on the basis that it is discriminatory towards immigrants, unless it establishes the French language as equally obligatory for all, including English-speaking pupils. The Federation charges that the bill creates "different classes of citizens," that the rich can always get around the law. They point out that they would

→p. 2



P.2

rather accept a system of French unlingualism, and add that they want "good instruction" in English to be assured "in respect to the North American context."

The question of the reality of the "North American context" is posed most acutely before the Quebecois — of the necessity of learning the English language — but voluntarily, free of the constraints which limit their ability to compete for the better jobs, the opportunities, the promotions in the place of work and study — in short, the constraints against playing the leading role in the society of which they compose a majority of 80 per cent.

Bill 22 frustrates this ambition, which is mobilized in the most powerful terms of the broad sentiment for an Independent Quebec. Bourassa states clearly that moderation is dictated by the fear of adverse reaction on the part of needed foreign investors and the resistance of the English-speaking owners and managers who heavily dominate Quebec's economy. In meeting these fears, in its attempt to persuade and cajole English-speaking corporations and investments into accepting a greater degree of "francisation", Bill 22 waives the obligation and the right that Quebec has to impose the French language in terms of state policy in education, in the place of work; that is, to promote the rights of the majority.

English Canadians in Quebec and across Canada who oppose the bill not only misunderstand that the bill is meant to protect English, and that it does not in any way restrain its present status or opportunities for growth in Quebec at a time when French is under attack and suffering from increasing erosion. They also demonstrate a profound ignorance of the national aspirations of the Quebecois that the French language issue reflects.

The existence of Quebecois national consciousness is most acutely expressed by a distinct language, unique and rich in its idiom. The class struggle — the Quebecois' struggle to rid themselves of their high rate of unemployment, scarcity of adequate housing, and a wage rate which drops to over 18 per cent lower than that of Ontario in manufacturing wages (Department of Labour, January 1974 — is inevitably reflected in terms of national and language rights. Although largely concentrated in the geographical unit, Quebec, the real binding force of this people, as is so often heard, is in "le fait francais," the fact of the French-speaking nation.

The imposition of the French language by the majority in Quebec as a means to establish de facto equality with Anglophones in education and on the job market will be achieved by a process of winning them over. In this process, the right of English-speaking Quebeckers to acquire an education in English only if they so desire, should not be neglected; they should have the right to establish their own schools separate from the French public school system. This right holds for any nationality, or for that matter any religious denomination desiring separate educational institutions. But no public funds should subsidize these schools — the full weight of the state must be to establish a single French-language system, in which English would logically be taught as the second language. Indeed, critics within the French schools charge that the teaching of French grammar and literature is at present grossly inadequate and deliberately neglected; they point out that instruction of English is already superior in terms of specialized, trained personnel. With the general unanimity that the teaching of French in English schools is totally ineffective in preparing young Anglophones to communicate with the Quebecois, another priority in the language issue is a fundamental reform of the teaching of French in both language school systems.

Subscribe Now!

enclose $1 for six issues

name _____

address _____

mail to forward

Box 778, Adelaide St., P.O.
Toronto M5C 2K1, Ontario

DON'T MISS AN ISSUE!

forward #1 July 1974

BC women call mock parliament

by Alice Klein

Some 200 delegates from women's groups throughout British Columbia have decided to launch a B.C. Federation of Women. The strategy conference which was held in Vancouver on May 25 planned the first action of the new federation to be the organization of a demonstration in Victoria on the first day of the legislature's fall session. The demonstrators will take the form of a mock session of the legislature at which they will pass women-oriented legislation they believe the NDP government should already have acted upon.

Included in the list of issues which the group intends to focus on are the repeal of Canada's unjust and archaic abortion laws, implementation of joint federal-provincial child-care programs, alteration of rape laws to give more rights to victims, and pensions for housewives.

This conference is a reflection of the attempts of women all across Canada to organize together to win fundamental rights which the Canadian government on all levels has been so loathe to concede.

This conference comes on the wake of the publication "What's been done?", a report of the Advisory Commission on the Status of Women which documents the action, or rather the inaction, of the federal government on the recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women, which was presented to the government back in 1970.

Over 66 per cent of the Commission's recommendations have either not been implemented or only partially implemented. It isn't surprising that it is precisely those which are the most meaningful that have been left unimplemented. These include the Canadian abortion laws with which the Liberal government supported by the Tories has consistently refused to deal, and thereby continue to be in force with all their inhumane effect.

While the Federal government has, in its typical procrastinating style, funded a survey to establish "national guidelines", no substantial improvement in day-care availability has been made. The recommendation that home workers be allowed to contribute to the Canada Pension Plan has not been implemented, leaving thousands of women with no security outside the pension of their spouse in their later years. Moreover, while equal pay and equal opportunity legislation exists on the books, these have provided no significant change for women even for those in the employ of the federal government itself. Rather than being ranked on the basis of the actual job which they are doing, secretaries in the civil service are ranked according to the status of their boss. Discrimination against airline stewardesses in favour of male pursers regarding wage and promotion rates continue in Air Canada. In fact the report shows that it is the federal government itself, the largest employer in the country, that is the decisive bulwark sustaining the degraded position of women.

Listing the government's inaction on the Royal Commission recommendations only highlights the inequities which women face in all aspects of their lives — at work, in the home, as participants in political life and in educational institutions. Society's whole weight is upon women to see themselves as childbearers and as dependents, rather than as full responsible human beings. Some progress has been made but it is no thanks to anything other than women themselves. Women are no longer accepting their traditional status. Instead they are in the process of organizing to win their full status, to demand that society meet their needs.

The B.C. conference is an example of the kind of struggle which women are waging and will continue to wage. It is most appropriate that their first action will be in the form of a mock parliament. It was in this form that more than sixty years ago, the great suffrage campaign was launched on the steps of the Manitoba legislature. At that time the struggle was to remove women's status from the ranks of "criminals, imbeciles and lunatics" with whom they shared the lack of suffrage, and to replace it with recognition of women's human dignity and her right to participate fully in society. Women discovered then that they could expect no changes unless they took command of their own struggle. Sixty years later, with the broader goals of that struggle as yet unattained, women are relearning the same lesson.

They are discovering that a profit-oriented society has no interest in their goals and in fact is firmly opposed to their realization. In order to win equal pay, high quality day-care accessible to all, and access to equal work opportunities, women confront all the priorities of this society. Nothing less than a complete restructuring is required.

Should Canada stay in NATO?

forward
#1 July 1974

by A. Levi

With the council of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) taking place in the midst of the federal election in Ottawa, June 17-19, Canada's position in international affairs becomes a focus of attention. U.S. imperialism's Superman Henry Kissinger himself will be in attendance.

Canada's role in the world, whether under a Liberal or Tory government, has generally followed the perspective laid down by Prime Minister Borden in 1918, while Canada was still a colony of Great Britain. He stated that "I am beginning to feel that in the end and perhaps sooner than later, Canada must assume full sovereignty. She can give better service to Great Britain and the United States and the world in that way."

This type of "sovereignty" in the service of the interests of the ruling class of Great Britain and the United States, resulted at that time in the sending of Canadian troops to participate in the world-wide imperialist drive to smash the nascent, harassed Russian workers' republic.

This tradition has been loyally adhered to through the years. For a decade the Canadian government ran diplomatic cover for U.S. imperialism in its attempts to smash the Vietnamese peoples' struggle for independence at the same time as the Canadian economy supplied military equipment on a massive scale.

The Paris Accords of 1972 provided for the deployment of Canadian "peace-keeping" troops to help freeze the Vietnamese struggle, since the U.S., even after the most murderous bombing campaign in human history, was unable to smash it. And now, early this month, the Trudeau government agreed to station Canadian troops in Syrian territory, occupied by Israel in 1967, in line with the U.S. State Department's engineered ceasefire agreement.

Despite all the talk about a policy of benign aid and trade with other countries across the globe Ottawa's fundamental stance and position is expressed in its membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Born in the cold war, NATO is nothing more than a military alliance dominated by the U.S. and designed to provide a military back-up for imperialism across the world. The U.S. State Department's detente with China and the USSR, following the debacle in Vietnam, has thrown confusion into its European partners. How to restrengthen the alliance and sweeten it up will no doubt be the chief concern of the Ottawa conference.

Canada is further strapped in with the U.S. military through the North American Air Defense Command (NORAD) and a military-industrial agreement, the Defense Production Sharing Agreement.

NORAD is now hopelessly outmoded by the development of the Intercontinental Ballistic Missile but under its terms the U.S. maintains constant overflights over the Canadian north and maintains extensive military supplies and forces on Canadian soil. It was renewed for another two years last May 12. While it commits Canada to expenditures of hundreds of millions of dollars and ties Canada to U.S. military operations, it was renewed by a mere exchange of diplomatic notes without debate or approval of parliament. The commons was quietly informed by an announcement of the minister of national defence. Only the NDP members dissented from the majority report in the parliamentary committee.

The peril that this agreement holds for the Canadian people and the people of the entire world was revealed in a startling fashion only last October 24 when U.S. military officials unilaterally ordered a nuclear alert during the Mid-East crisis. Not only did parliament know nothing about it, no Ottawa official was informed until after the event. In explanation of this astonishing situation which thrust the world onto the brink of nuclear disaster Brigadier-General Gordon Ockenden stated that the Canadian personnel at the NORAD command "give their allegiance to both countries" on the basis that they are "NORADians first, and Canadian second."

David Lewis has pointed out that the corporate thumb lies heavily across the governmental institutions of Canada and through the Liberals or the Tories assures that it never, never goes into opposition. The control of the basic part of the Canadian economy is in the hands of U.S. corporate giants. They not only have profound influence over Ottawa's domestic policy but also over Ottawa's foreign policy.

Last summer the Trudeau government was exposed in the humiliating position of having on at least six previous occasions acquiesced to the refusal to fill Cuban orders by Canadian plants that are subsidiaries of U.S. corporations. While Canada recognizes Cuba, the orders were blocked by the branch-plant directors complying with a U.S. law passed in 1917 — Trading with the Enemy Act. This came to public attention when MLW-Worthington Limited, a subsidiary of Studebaker-Worthington of the U.S., had been stalled over working on an $18 million order for locomotives and parts. The Liberal party government had allocated $76.5 million under the Export Development Corporation to finance locomotive purchases from MLW-Worthington and this particular Cuban order was estimated to involve some 1,800 man-years of work for Canadians. In startling contrast to the humiliating acquiescence of the Trudeau government to this violation of sovereignty was the Argentinian government's instructions to the U.S. Auto giants to fill Cuban orders in their Argentine plants, or suffer their nationalization.

A foreign policy in the interests of the working people of Canada would first break Canada from any and all military alliances, including those that establish U.S.and NATO troops on Canadian soil and Canadian troops on foreign soil. It would brook no interference in Canadian trade with any other country and would put under public ownership any branch plants violating that. It would not defend in anyway the investments of Canadian capitalism or Canadian-based U.S. capitalism in other lands in their violation of the sovereign rights of the peoples of those lands, and would seek a relation of free trade and aid with all peoples.

forward #1 July 1974

Argentine militants murdered

Three worker militants, members of the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST-Socialist Workers Party), a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International, were brutally murdered by fascist terrorists on May 30.

They were kidnapped along with three other persons by a gang of fifteen thugs using walkie-talkies and armed with machine guns who broke into the Pacheco headquarters of the PST where they beat up another twenty persons also present.

The three were forced into the trunk of the goons' cars. Their bodies were found several hours later after they had been tortured and murdered.

The response to the killings of the three militants has been rapid and massive. There have been work stoppages in several factories and secondary schools where the victims had been known, and they are expected to spread. Protest meetings have been held at many places and student groups and human rights organizations have solidarized with the PST.

Reacting to mass demands that the government prosecute the fascist gang, the Parliamentary Labor Committee of the Argentine Chamber of Deputies (made up of the heads of all parties participating in the parliament) was convened on an emergency basis. The committee condemned the attack and called on the administration to take steps to arrest the murderers.

The PST has asked for international solidarity messages from other groups and prominent individuals. They should be addressed to Partido de los Trabajadores, 24 de Novembre 225, Capital Federal, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Successful forum series held in Toronto

As we started to head into the elections and just before the summer break the Toronto Socialist League sponsored a series of forums.

On May 9 Ross Dowson spoke on The Trade Unions and Canadian Autonomy which he projected as the key issue confronting the Canadian Congress of Labor Convention that was to be held the following week.

On May 22 Wayne Roberts spoke on the very timely question of Socialist Strategy and the NDP, and on June 5, Ellie Kirzner spoke on the controversial topic Women's Liberation and Socialism.

The series was held at St. Paul's United Church at 121 Avenue Road, south of Davenport. Attendance averaged 26-36 persons. A highlight of all three forums was the extended and stimulating discussion period. The forums will commence again early in the fall.

Plans are being laid for a discussion class over the summer months.

Further information can be obtained from the Socialist League offices at 85 King Street East, 3rd floor, (416)363-6755.

Repression in Brazil

James Petras, Latin America expert, will speak on the repression in Brazil, Monday, June 17th, 8 p.m. at the U. of T. Medical Sciences Auditorium.

The Committee Against the Brazilian Trade Tour is holding a demonstration in front of the Park Plaza Hotel where the trade mission is staying, on Monday, June 24th, at 4:30 p.m.

for information call 533-4221.

STOP THE TOUR! END TORTURE AND REPRESSION! NO AID OR TRADE TO THE BRAZILIAN JUNTA!

SOCIALIST LEAGUE

INTRODUCTORY SERIES OF CLASSES ON MARXIST ECONOMIC THEORY

I August 22, Thursday, 8:00 pm
The Labour Theory of Value
reading for the class; Wages, Price and Profit by Karl Marx

II August 29, Thursday, 8:00 pm
Prices and Profits
reading for class; Economics for Beginners by John Kerocher

III September 5, Thursday, 8:00 pm
From Capitalism to Monopoly
reading for class; Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism by V.I. Lenin

IV September 12, Thursday, 8:00 pm
Imperialism and the Detente

Classes will take place at 85 King St., E., third floor

For the duration of the transit strike cars will pick up anyone at the corner of Eglinton and Bayview at 7:45 pm and Bloor and Bay at 7:45 pm

For further information phone 363-6755

FORWARD, Box 778,
Adelaide st. P.O. Toronto,
Sept 1, 1974.

Dear Comrade and Friend,

You have no doubt, by now, seen the second issue of our paper, Forward, and realize that we are here to stay. "There is nothing so powerful as an idea whose time has come" and that describes in a nutshell what has been happening around socialist circles since we rushed out that first issue to meet the challenge of the federal election campaign.

The response was unforseen by all of us. A common theme ran through it. Here at last was a paper that met the needs of socialists and militants in every sphere of radical activity.

The impact of world revolutionary events on the Canadian scene must not go unrecognized, but they must be in proper perspective, and that is how we have attempted to place them.

The focus of our attention is on Canadian working class struggles and how they unfold. Our special emphasis is on the New Democratic Party, the voice of independent labor political action in Canada. We aim to become a rallying point for leftward moving forces in the NDP - a forum for the discussion on what strategy to "Win the NDP to Socialism" and achieve labor governments in all the provinces and Ottawa.

Anti-imperialist sentiment in the working class of this country is a fact of life. To understand it and meet it with a socialist strategy is the responsibility of all those aspiring to give leadership to our class. We intend to publish a number of theoretical articles dealing with this question.

The need for Forward is obvious and the willingness of comrades to participate in its production is there. In fact, the most heartwarming part of the response to our first issue is from many persons who had dropped away from politics in sheer despair, but are now being reactivated with a whole new enthusiasm.

It is the funds that we need - to pay the printer and take on full time staff. We are starting from scratch and are short of the most basic necessities for lay-out and headlines.

A campaign is under way to raise $4000 which is the minimum required to keep us rolling for the next few months. This is your opportunity to participate in the future NOW.

Sometime in the next few weeks friends and supporters of Forward will be calling on you to seek your contribution.

let us go Forward

Harry Paine

Fund Drive Co-ordinator

When responding to a toast in favor of the Independent Press — John Swinton, once editor of the NY Times

"There is no such thing in America as an independent press. You know it and I know it. There is not one of you who would dare write his honest opinion and if he did you would know beforehand that it would never appear in print.

"I am paid 150 per week for keeping my honest opinion out of the paper I am connected with. Others of you are paid similar salaries for similar work.

"The business of the journalist is to destroy the truth, to lie outright, to pervert, to vilify, to fawn at the feet of Mammon and to sell his country and his race for his daily bread. You know this and I know it; and what folly is this to be toasting an independent press!

"We are the tools and vassals of the rich men behind the scenes. We are jumping jacks: they pull the strings and we dance. Our talents, our possibilities and our lives are the property of these men. We are intellectual prostitutes."

both — from The Worker Sept 13/24

Roger Babson — statistician-in-chief for the capitalist class

"The war taught the employing class the secret + the power of widespread propaganda. Imperial Europe had been aware of this power. It was new to the U.S. Now when we have anything to sell to the American people we know how to sell it. We have learned. We have the schools. We have the pulpit. The employing class owns the press. There is practically no important paper in the United States but is theirs."

Sent re exchang
Sept 11/74

~~Ont New Democrat~~ — 1.25 a year
= New Democrat, NDP of Ont, 3 Church St Tor 1 Ont

CUPE Journal — no sub rate — x change?
CUPE - ~~Suite 800~~ - 233 Gilmour St Ottawa K2P 0P5

? Central ~~BC~~ write for rate — one year $4.00 Contract Publications Ltd 28 Lennox St Tor 4

0 ~~Toronto Citizen~~ x change write for rate — Toronto ~~Citizen~~ Incorporated - 530 Richmond St W
One year sub - 26 issues - 5.00

~~Intl Socialist Review~~ 14 Charles Lane NY NY 10014 - ~~1 yr 11 issues~~ $6.00 Cdn

The Commonwealth 1630 Quebec St, Regina Sask S4P 1J2 ~~One year~~ $5.00

Cdn Tribune 924 King St W ~~Toronto 150~~ $6 a year

BC Democrat Democrat Publishing Co Ltd 1881 East Hastings Vancouver BC
$3 a year (12 issues)

UAW ~~Solidarity (Canada)~~ Cdn Region UAW 2450 Victoria Park Ave Willowdale Ont M2J 4A2
~~sub $1 - 10 issues~~

1 Steel Shuts Hamilton local
2 Steel Labor
3 CBRT Journal ——— Cdn Transport 230 ~~Laurier W~~ Ottawa 4 K1P 5J8
4 Communist Viewpoint ——— CP theoretical organ
~~North Country~~ 6 issues $4 PO Box ~~339~~ Station E Toronto
was 86 7
5 Labor Gazette — Ottawa
~~Priorities~~ 40 No 8, 2295 W 1st Ave, Vancouver

Over

Send to Forward Box 776 Adelaide St P.O.
Toronto M5C 2K1

Check
Labour Org
In Canada

Cdn Unions
Directory

Cda. Dept Labor Econs
+ Rosenel
Grant

Alta Labour — City Hall — Labour Pubs Edmonton Box 5184
BC Fed of Labor
Cdn Labour — CLC — 100 Argyle Ave Ottawa K2P 1B6
CUPE Journal — #800 - 233 Gilmour, Ottawa ON K2P 0P5
The Fisherman — 138 E Cordova St Van 4 BC
~~Justice~~
Labour Gazette ~~Can~~ Dept of Labor 340 Laurier W Ottawa Queen Printer
Labour Review — OFL — 15 Gervais Dr Don Mills — M Lozares 3
~~Nfld Labour Journal~~
~~OFL Facts + Figures — Mail Pads~~
Pacific Tribune
Progressive Worker
Task — Ont Dept of Labour 400 Univ Ave Tor
USWA — The Cementator — Trail Local — Local 489 910 Portland St Trail BC
Local 480 Plant Bulletin
Western Cdn Lumber Worker — IWA Western Dir Regional Council 2859 Commercial Drive Van 12 BC
Western Pulp + Paper Worker — #504 - 1075 Melville St Van 5 Subs 200
Union Farmer — Nfld Farmers Union 333 4th Ave N Saskatoon
UE News — 10 Codeco Court Don Mills Ont
Western Socialist — SPC PO Box 115 Winnipeg Man

available as a gift
editor John Gallagher
available as a gift

Toronto Vol. 1 No. 2 Sept. 1974 20 cents

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

forward

Vol. 1, No. 2. Sept 1974 Toronto 20 cents

Fight price gougers, unite behind COLA

by Wayne Roberts

"Where is the Justice" and "4.3 — we won't have it," were the chants of 400 off-duty Montreal firemen marching on city hall. These workers rejected a city offer, backed by the union leadership, which refused a cost of living adjustment in their current contract. Their bosses thought that a new contract in 1975 was a more proper focus of their attention.

This kind of action has been spreading throughout the labor movement. Since the call issued by the Quebec labor movement for May Day, 55,000 railway non-ops, after having been awarded a 7.5 percent increase by Federal arbitrator Justice Hall, are again pressing hard for an immediate new cost-of-living deal. Inflation has already eaten up 6.58 percent of their increase. The union calculates this will rise to 13.6 percent by year end. To emphasize the urgency of their demands, the CBRT's largest local at the CN Express Bonaventure terminal in Montreal has twice staged wildcat walkouts.

These and other actions arise from the major challenges facing the trade union movement today. The galloping rate of inflation has rendered useless previous wage demands and has negated the sacredness of established contracts.

Statistics Canada figures released in July reported that the income of Canada's labor force rose only 1.1 percent in April and May this year as against a pressing 1.7 percent inflation rate in the same period. These can be little surprise that the demand for cost-of-living allowances, or COLA ("the clause that refreshes") has become an integral part of the current labor agenda. The allowances provide for a one cent per hour increase for approximately each half point rise in the Consumer Price Index. However, less than ten per cent of current collective agreements contain this arrangement.

A recent COLA conceded to Hamilton Steelworkers was tacit recognition that the original contract had been rendered obsolete by rampant inflation. Few working people, however, can expect the cost of living clause to be incorporated without a struggle. Indeed, most of the major strikes presently underway are being fought around the cost of living problem and the necessity for a COLA. Such is the central point of contention in the strike of 3300 rubber workers in Ontario, in the Montreal transit strike, and in the bitter struggle of workers at United Aircraft in Montreal. (See articles elsewhere in this issue.) In two of these cases, the head offices of the corporations in the United States fear that recognition of the COLA in Canada would set a precedent unfavourable for them in American negotiations.

The Canadian trade union movement must take up this demand for what used to be called a sliding scale of wages. "Spiralling scale" would be more appropriate now, as inflation consumes all the hard fought gains of the labor movement over the years. In order for workers to defend their standard of living against the victimization of inflation and make a stand for improving it, this clause is an urgent necessity.

KENORA INDIAN STRUGGLE SPARKS SOLIDARITY ACTION

As we go to press, negotiations between government officials and the Objibway Warriors Society are continuing in Kenora. And so is the occupation of Anicinabe Park. Those arrested have been released, though charges are still standing against them.

The occupation of the park was sparked by the coming together of over 2,500 native people at Anicinabe for a four day conference of the Objibway nation in mid-July. The question of their rights to the park is the focus of their resistance to the wide ranging oppression that they suffer. Of the 7,000 native people in the area, 95 percent are unemployed. Police harassment and the bitter conditions under which they live have led to over 4,000 arrests of Indian people in Kenora in the last year.

A recent study by the Concerned Citizens Committee, a subcommittee of the Kenora Social Planning Council, indicates that: "Nearly 200 Indian people in the Kenora area have died violently in the past three and one-half years." An indication of the abysmal con-

→P. 2

it go another day. We sealed off this place, and made a stand, liberated this land for the Objibway nation". In the light of their knowledge of police brutality it was clear that, if they had not been prepared to defend themselves, there would have been much bloodshed — Indian blood.

Though the action is led by the younger, more militant, Warriors Society, it has been supported by the Treaty 3 Chiefs' Council. Despite reservations flowing from their commitment to "peaceful actions", they donated $1,000 to the occupation on the day it began, and issued a public statement that said, in part, "The organization of Chiefs in the Kenora Fort Frances area wish to

continued on page 8

Women's rights resolution challenges

Ont & BC NDP rallies

By Alice Klein

A powerful women's manifesto, endorsed by some dozen provincial riding associations, promises to be a major challenge to the B.C. NDP convention and to the women's liberation movement across the country. A reading of this manifesto was enthusiastically received during the strategy discussion at the recent Federal NDP Women's Conference.

It is the sole resolution on women's rights being submitted by the Standing Committee on Women's Rights and is quite different from the stuff of which most resolutions are made. This resolution is a manifesto, probably one of the most comprehensive expressions of the issues and meaning of the women's liberation movement and its relationship to the struggle for a socialist society produced by the women's movement in recent years.

It is contained in full in Priorities, the magazine of the B.C. NDP Committee on Women's Rights (c-o No. 8 - 2295 W. 1st Ave. Vancouver). In volume 2 number 6, where it is published, there is also the text of their statement breaking off relations with the government Caucus Liaison Committee on Women's Rights. It says, in part, " . . . the creation and workings of this committee has done nothing for the women's movement . . .

"Our dissatisfaction is less a result of the committee itself than of the increasingly obvious fact that the government has no intention of implementing party policy on women's rights."

The resolution, beginning with the traditional "Whereas", says: "The movements people form are cries of pain and declarations of war.

"They are at one and the same time expressions of grief, rage, conviction and resolve."

Making the point that "movements arise from oppression", they continue:

"The history of socialists in British Columbia is one continuous struggle against oppression. Our history is written in the lives and deaths of generations of working people, the poor and the destitute. We are heir to a tradition of suffering and hope of people like ourselves who have chosen not to crumble and collapse under oppression but to join together and fight for the right to live and work as free human beings."

Explaining that "there is no aspect of women's lives unaffected by the sexist, brutalizing and discriminatory institutions of capitalist society," the resolution documents the myriad forms which this oppression takes.

It deals with the crippling effect that sex-role stereotyping has on women's attitudes, the effect of only limited access to birth control information and of Canada's criminal laws against women's right to safe

continued on page 3

NO FARE INCREASE, FOR AN ELECTED TTC AND UNION DELEGATED REPRESENTATION

By J. Jennings

Battling an accumulation of two decades of demands that have fallen by the wayside in previous negotiations, Toronto's transit workers continue their strike. The militancy of the union members, and the fairness of their demands, has posed major questions about the Moguls of the TTC — and, in fact, brings into question the structure of the commission itself.

Why did this strike take place? What brought the TTC employees to vote 30 to 1 to reject the last offer of the commission before the strike action?

Aside from their low wages, seriously eroded in buying power by recent inflation, there is a list of 148 items being presented by the unions for rectification. The pattern for 22 years has been to have these demands 'slip off the table' in eleventh hour settlements. This time the drivers want them settled once and for all. And they are tired of putting in 10 and a half to 12 and a half hour days to earn 8 hours pay. The split shift system is not only an ordeal but plays havoc with their personal lives.

TTC Chairman Karl Mallette acted surprised at the walkout. "I had assumed we would follow the pattern of previous bargaining and reach a settlement at the last moment," he said. On the same theme, in an interview from the back seat of his blue TTC Cadillac, he commented: "Maybe we should have twigged earlier that they were going to strike, no matter what. But I guess we try to be optimistic . . .

"Normally, all the little demands fall by the wayside as the negotiations get down to the crunch. That's the way it is with these things. But this time it didn't happen that way."

It is true that there is a new militancy among the drivers, but was former typo scab Mallette, infamous for his opposition to social welfare when he served on Council, truly surprised? Alderman Colin Vaughn, who fought the TTC's demand for fare increases earlier this year, thinks the Commission's low offer was a tactic to force a strike and win higher fares by blaming the union.

In an editorial titled "This strike was avoidable", the Toronto Star comments that the "main reason (for the strike) seems to have been that the TTC dealt in so substantial way with various longstanding complaints about working conditions, some of them minor and easily corrected."

" . . . the strong impression is left that the TTC seriously underestimated the seriousness which its workers felt about some of the matters in dispute other than pay. It seems fair to suggest that the TTC ask itself about how well it has managed its labor relations."

It is also 'fair' to suggest that the working people of Toronto demand that the Commission grant the TTC workers their just demands. It is also 'fair' to say that it is time to restructure the TTC into a popularly elected body that has on it representation from the TTC workers themselves. The working people of Toronto want neither strikes; nor do they want lousy working conditions and pay for those working on their services.

Pull Cdn-UN troops out of Cyprus now!

by the Editors

When asked as to whether her brother's death was an honorable one, Madelyne Perron cried out: "No. No. No. It was a waste of his life!"

Perron was in Cyprus as a member of Canada's contingent in the 2,300 UN troops there. They are in Cyprus as "peace keepers." Canadian troops have been there in this guise for over ten years. When the crisis escalated, resulting in the death and wounding of tens of thousands of Greek and Turkish Cypriots, Canada was approached for additional forces.

External Affairs Minister Sharp, while he expressed appropriate anxiety and impatience, agreed to and has already upped the Canadian commitment from 486 to 950. While heretofore their arsenal was limited to rifles and machine guns, Canadian forces are now armed with anti-tank weapons and armoured personnel carriers and reconnaissance cars. To mollify unease he promised

continued on page 8

In this issue:

Football strike - p5
On Elections - p7
Watergate - p4

p.2

ditions under which Indian people live is revealed by this report's statement that the second biggest killer is suicide — predominantly amongst women and youth.

Louis Cameron, chairman of the Objibway Warriors Society, explained the occupation this way: "So when we had the conference we discussed these things. Why are the houses we live in so dangerous? Why are there no jobs for Indian people? Why don't we get any training? Why do we have the highest death rate in North America? . . .

"So we took these arms to protect our people, to try to win a better life for the Indian people. We couldn't let it go another day. We sealed off this place, and made a stand, liberated this land for the Objibway nation". In the light of their knowledge of police brutality it was clear that, if they had not been prepared to defend themselves, there would have been much bloodshed — Indian blood.

Though the action is led by the younger, more militant, Warriors Society, it has been supported by the Treaty 3 Chiefs' Council. Despite reservations flowing from their commitment to "peaceful actions", they donated $1,000 to the occupation on the day it began, and issued a public statement that said, in part, "The organization of Chiefs in the Kenora Fort Frances area wish to

continued on page 8

Kenora Indian Struggle sparks solidarity actions

continued from page 1

reiterate their solidarity with the desire for immediate changes as expressed by the Objibway Warriors Society now occupying the Anicinabe Park.

"The fact that some Indian people are turning away from peaceful approaches to change is a direct result of years of exploitation and persecution of Indian people by those with power in the dominant society . . ."

A statement outlining the demands of the occupation shows that the questions at issue are much broader than what the press has chosen to limit their coverage. Only the first two pages of the six page statement are concerned with the issue of the return of their land, sold illegally by the Department of Indian Affairs to the Town of Kenora.

Under the heading "Local Matters" they list the following:

"(1) More and more Indian people every year have been meeting violent deaths. A concerted effort must be made to alleviate the despair and frustration which leads to these deaths . . .

"(2) Lack of employment opportunities is an important reason for the development of social problems. Local businessmen and professionals should immediately implement plans to hire and train large numbers of Indian youth.

"(3) Police Brutality and Harassment of Indians must stop. Discriminatory enforcement of laws and total ignorance of Indian ways by the police must come to an end

"(4) The Town of Kenora has not done enough to protect equally the many Indian residents of the town, and has failed to recognize the human rights of Indian people. A local human rights committee which would meet regularly to air grievances should be established . . .

"(5) The local press should publish more positive material about the local Indian population in an effort to wipe out false and distorted sterentypes."

Under "Provincial Matters" and "Federal Matters" there are listed another sixteen demands. The statement also provides concrete answers to the problems it raises.

This struggle is just one step down the long road to Indian rights. Whatever the immediate results of the negotiations, it has achieved much. As Indian leader Cameron put it: "There has been little unity shown among our people for a long time and this occupation shows it can be done." It was the direct militant action of the Objiway Warriors Society that brought that unity about. Demonstrations of solidarity with the Kenora Indians have taken place in major centers across the country.

This action flows from, and contributes to the rising unity and militancy among Indian and Metis peoples across the country. Among the direct solidarity demonstrations have been an armed highway blockade at Cache Creek B.C. and occupations of the Indian Affairs offices in Regina and Winnipeg.

J. Jennings

forward #2 Sept 1974

Editor: Wayne Roberts

Women's rights resolution challenges Ont & BC NDP rallies

By Alice Klein

A powerful women's manifesto, endorsed by some dozen provincial riding associations, promises to be a major challenge to the B.C. NDP convention and to the women's liberation movement across the country. A reading of this manifesto was enthusiastically received during the strategy discussion at the recent Federal NDP Women's Conference.

It is the sole resolution on women's rights being submitted by the Standing Committee on Women's Rights and is quite different from the stuff of which most resolutions are made. This resolution is a manifesto, probably one of the most comprehensive expressions of the issues and meaning of the women's liberation movement and its relationship to the struggle for a socialist society produced by the women's movement in recent years.

It is contained in full in **Priorities**, the magazine of the B.C. NDP Committee on Women's Rights (c o No. 8 - 2295 W. 1st Ave. Vancouver). In volume 2 number 6, where it is published, there is also the text of their statement breaking off relations with the government Caucus Liaison Committee on Women's Rights. It says, in part, " . . . the creation and workings of this committee has done nothing for the women's movement . . .

"Our dissatisfaction is less a result of the committee itself than of the increasingly obvious fact that the government has no intention of implementing party policy on women's rights."

The resolution, beginning with the traditional "Whereas", says: "The movements people form are cries of pain and declarations of war.

"They are at one and the same time expressions of grief, rage, conviction and resolve."

Making the point that "movements arise from oppression", they continue:

"The history of socialists in British Columbia is one continuous struggle against oppression. Our history is written in the lives and deaths of generations of working people, the poor and the destitute. We are heir to a tradition of suffering and hope of people like ourselves who have chosen not to crumble and collapse under oppression but to join together and fight for the right to live and work as free human beings."

Explaining that "there is no aspect of women's lives unaffected by the sexist, brutalizing and discriminatory institutions of capitalist society," the resolution documents the myriad forms which this oppression takes.

It deals with the crippling effect that sex-role stereotyping has on women's attitudes, the effect of only limited access to birth control information and of Canada's criminal laws against women's right to safe

continued on page 2

"A non-socialist woman in parliament is comparable to a boxer in a ring with his hands tied behind his back" said Grace McInnis to the NDP women's conference. London Mayor Jane Bigelow and NDP candidate Jill Oliver listen.

Women's rights at NDP rallies

continued from page 1

abortion. It explains that these flow from women's restricted economic and social function within capitalist society.

Any attempts by women who fulfil their prescribed role as wives and mothers, to expand their activities into outside employment, or further education are frustrated by the lack of child care facilities, by the criticism heaped on the 'neglectful' mother, and by the fact that it costs money to work."

Since women's oppression is "integral to the functioning of the capitalist system, it is no accident that the women's liberation movement arose . . . from within the ranks of the socialist movement itself."

"Women's liberation does not mean attaining equality with oppressed men, nor does it mean incorporating some few women to join with some few men in oppressing the vast majority of men and women. If the future liberation of women is not as total as is the present oppression of women — if it does not touch and change the lives of every woman and every man — there will be no liberation at all for anyone. Socialism is a condition of women's liberation."

The resolution insists that "women's liberation is not created by a stroke of the pen . . ." but by active movements out to change laws.

"But the women's movement, like all movements, reaches a point where political action by governments is necessary to change oppressive laws and to make new ones.

"A government that is socialist in deed as well as word, even though it may be elected to govern a society far from socialist, has the absolute responsibility to make and enforce as much legislation as possible to extend the rights and opportunities of women."

The resolution goes on to declare that "a government that does not do these things, whatever it may call itself, is not socialist.

"It is not socialist" they charge; "to produce reforms in child care so bureaucratic that they do not touch the lives of the poor and working women, or to subvert the struggles of women to control their own bodies by taking away abortion rights they have already won; . . . to proclaim that married persons are equal by attempting to produce a law which takes away what few rights exist . . . to draw up legislation on behalf of women that women have never asked for and do not want; . . . to try to delude the women's movement with promises of change when neither the desire nor the intent for change exists.

The resolution concludes with the resolve: "that the New Democratic Party of British Columbia, as a party of democratic socialists, endorses this resolution in its entirety . . . and further . . . that the Government of British Columbia be instructed in the strongest possible terms to implement the Women's Rights policies of the New Democratic Party immediately and without further delay."

The B.C. convention, and the women's liberation movement generally, can draw inspiration from this manifesto. It shows that the NDP government, though an important step, is only a step towards the eradication of this sexist class society. By putting women's liberation, and the struggle for it, in the context of the struggle for socialist policies, this resolution has the potential to mobilize the party membership.

Clearly, it strikes some heavy blows at the footdragging parliamentary caucus. It poses the key question when it "instructs" the caucus — the mandate from the electorate was won by the party and its program, not the parliamentary caucus.

Through its drive to mobilize women and the rank and file of the party, the B.C. NDP women's committee resolution demonstrates not only the importance of an autonomous women's movement and its dynamic relationship to socialism and the party, it points the way forward for socialists in struggles across the country.

Pull Cdn-UN troops out of Cyprus now!

by the Editors

When asked as to whether her brother's death was an honorable one, Madelyne Perron cried out: "No. No. No. It was a waste of his life!"

Perron was in Cyprus as a member of Canada's contingent in the 2,300 UN troops there. They are in Cyprus as "peace keepers." Canadian troops have been there in this guise for over ten years. When the crisis escalated, resulting in the death and wounding of tens of thousands of Greek and Turkish Cypriots, Canada was approached for additional forces.

External Affairs Minister Sharp, while he expressed appropriate anxiety and impatience, agreed to and has already upped the Canadian commitment from 486 to 950. While heretofore their arsenal was limited to rifles and machine guns, Canadian forces are now armed with anti-tank weapons and armoured personnel carriers and reconnaissance cars. To mollify unease he promised

continued on page 8

Out of Cyprus now!

continued from page 1

the whole matter would be reviewed by his government December 15th. Defence Minister Richardson shored up Sharp by warning that the UN general secretary would have had to accept other offers, from other members in good standing in the UN, namely the USSR or one of her allies — if Canada had not responded.

What have the UN troops and the Canadian contingent achieved over their 10 years in Cyprus? No one can claim that they have kept the peace!

While arguing for a continued Canadian presence, with the lame exuse of honoring "obligations undertaken," the editors of the **Toronto Star** make the revealing comment: "peacekeeping was merely a front to hide preparations for the next battle, and Canada has acquiesced in this conspiracy of procrastinations."

When Private Perron arrived in Cyprus the framework of Canadian-UN peacekeeping was that Makarios was in office. When Perron was killed, peacekeeping was defending the deal worked out in Geneva by Athens, Ankara and London. The Greek officials at Geneva were members of the substitute team for the military junta that had carried out the coup against Cypriot President Makarios. The Turkish officials were there by fact of their forcible seizure and occupation of one third of the island. The British were there as the previous colonial occupiers of the island since they seized it from Turkey, and retain key military bases to this day.

What peacekeeping means today and in the immediate future is by no means clear, except in one sense — it will not by any means be determined by the needs or wishes of the Cypriot masses, but rather by the NATO powers — and primarily by the U.S. State Department.

The editors of the Toronto **Globe and Mail** have gone so far as to call for the end of Canadian presence in Cyprus. They don't argue the need to honor "obligations undertaken" in Cyprus. Their view is long range and cynically frank. Their concern is that Canada's continued involvement is making "its claim to impartiality so suspect by its readiness to serve as a waterboy to the American team." They don't want Canada to waste its usefulness to U.S. imperialism.

The Canadian people's concern however is that they not be used as a pawn of imperialism in its machinations against the working people across the globe. They must demand the withdrawal of Canadian troops from Cyprus — and now, before many more are killed and wounded.

forward

Editor: Wayne Roberts

FORWARD is published in the interests of working people by the Forward Publishing Association. It is printed by Charters Publishing Co. Ltd., a union shop. Signed articles express the opinions of the writers and are not necessarily the opinions of the publishers. Mail should be addressed to Forward, Box 778, Adelaide St. P.O. Toronto. M5C 2K1

8 * Forward, Sept 1974 #2

Forward launches drive for $4,000

With this issue of **Forward** we are launching a campaign for $4,000. Our aim is to put financial foundation under this paper. We need this sum as a minimum to get things underway — to publish **Forward** on a regular basis over the next immediate period, and to prove, not only its usefulness but its necessity to everyone we can reach with it. Our drive commences on September 1st and closes on October 31.

The campaign commences even before this public appeal with slightly over $1,000 on hand towards its objective. This amount has been raised over the last week from a very limited number of men and women actively involved in the NDP, in the trade unions, the women's and the student movement, most of them in the Socialist League, who already, from their own hard-won experience know the need for **Forward** and are prepared to do whatever is necessary to assure its publication.

The aim of **Forward** is both truly awesome and disarmingly simple. We intend to express as clearly and consciously as we are able, the deep and contradictory aspirations of the working people of this country, to stimulate their critical spirit, and to sharpen their discontent and aspirations onto the path of socialist consciousness. **Forward** aims to be a key instrument in the education, agitation and organization of the forces that will establish a socialist Canada.

Forward is appearing at a crucial time. Socialism is once more being widely discussed within the NDP. Young militants are coming forward in the trade unions. Unions are entering into a new phase of struggles. Not since the thirties are there so many persons who consider themselves revolutionary socialists.

Nonetheless, one of the most striking aspects of this promising situation is the lack of unity of these component forces and the largely spontaneist character of their responses to the challenges before them.

Without arrogance we intend to bring to this promising situation the experiences that we have assimilated over some years of participation in the struggles in the NDP, in the unions and in the women and youth radicalization, and to fuse them with the sum total of the teachings of all past workers' struggles across the globe, codified by Leon Trotsky in the Transitional Program.

We are asking our readers for money. It is not easy for workers in these days of inflationary price gouging to accumulate money. We have already accumulated the flesh, the nerves and the energy to put **Forward** together. We are prepared to take it out into the NDP, into the unions and into the meetings and the actions across the country. You can free us to concentrate on those tasks by sending in money. We are asking you for the tools; for the typesetting, for the ink, and for the paper that goes into the production of **Forward**.

Send whatever amount you can contribute and if necessary in installments to **Forward** Box 778 Adelaide Street P.O., Toronto M5C 2K1.

forward #2 Sept 1974

Editor: Wayne Roberts

a contribution to the discussion on NDP election results

Where is the working class at?

by Gord Deutsch

Although the radicalization in Canada is deepening and widening, the last federal election did not reflect this in terms of a left shift in the voting.

This election had a highly unusual character. The election emerged as a reaction against the threat of a wage freeze. The majority of workers responded by voting for a stable Liberal majority and pulled back from voting NDP to hedge against splitting the vote in favor of the Tories who appeared strong enough to win the government.

But the vote for the Liberals does not reflect a pro-business vote. Management consultant Richard Finlay in the August 6 **Star** noted that "all the major parties appeared to adopt an anti-business stance in many policies . . . All the evidence suggests that the attitude of 'taking big business' was merely a political response to the public mood." He went on to point out that this attitude was reinforced by the "energy crisis, record corporate profits and broadening nationalist concern over multi-national firms and the use of Canadian natural resources". And therefore he concluded that the drop in NDP support on July 8 was not due to a "lessening of public antipathy toward business" but "more due to its faulty political strategy" and the fact that everyone knew it could not deliver a majority government.

How should socialists assess this conjuncture in terms of the development of working class consciousness? What tasks does this pose for socialists?

In the first place, we must frankly admit that this election was in the nature of a referendum centered around the question of which government will rule in parliament: a government of the workers or a government of the bosses? Workers had a variety of left choices on July 8.

If workers wanted to vote for something more than a reformist labor party like the NDP, they could have voted for the Communist Party of Canada or the Marxist Leninist Party (Maoists), both of which were on the ballot and had access to free time on CBC. The CP's big ads in the capitalist daily press, their ample literature and all-candidates platforms permitted these parties to get a wide hearing.

If some anti-Stalinist workers wanted a Trotskyist choice instead, the Revolutionary Marxist Group provided 3 candidates and the League for Socialist Action and an additional one.

If Canadian workers rejected these candidates because of their factional attacks against the radical Canadian nationalist sentiment, then they had a choice in the Waffle candidacies. The Waffle is nationally known, particularly to NDPers, and they presented a very full and detailed program for Socialism and Independence. They carried an energetic canvassing campaign, debated with other party candidates at all-candidates meetings and held rallies of their own. Certainly we can say they ran a serious and prominent campaign even though they did not appear on the ballot with their party name.

We can conclude from all this that the working class was presented with very broad choices: between Capital and Labor, between reformism and revolution, between Russian Stalinism and Chinese Stalinism, between Stalinism and Trotskyism, and between anti-nationalist sectarianism and a socialist perspective within the framework of the nationalist sentiment. So we can say — recognizing all the truisms about dollar democracy in elections — that this election, represented a referendum on the question of parliamentary power. And despite this, workers did not vote left.

Clearly, the revolutionary socialists could not intervene to "change the relationship of forces" in this election. This is due to the fact that there was no feeling of crisis or necessity for drastic changes. So much so that even the forcing of an election was met with disfavor by the Canadian voters. According to a July 3 Gallup Poll, 44 percent of Canadians did not want an election whereas only 43 percent did.

Certainly the NDP's election strategy suffered as a result. As **Le Devoir** editor, Claude Ryan, noted: "The NDP has found itself in the uncomfortable position of having to answer both for keeping the Liberals in power until May and for precipitating an unwanted election by withdrawing their support from the Liberals."

The pressure of this feeling among the electorate was so prevalent that Lewis at one point in the campaign stated that he would be prepared to support another minority Liberal government. Realizing that this statement could only serve to strengthen the Liberals, Lewis reversed himself in a subsequent interview.

The Liberals demogogically picked up on this mood. Their message all along was that Canadians never had it so good, that there was no crisis, that Stanfield was full of gloom and doom, and that David Lewis was always angry about something.

To make sure that the message came across, Trudeau emphasized the prospect of the good life by his "reform a day keeps the NDP away" bundle of reform goodies in his campaign. In Winnipeg, he would build an Air Canada operation to provide jobs; in Ontario, the Liberals are financing the Harbor Front Amusement Park (to bemuse the taxpayers no doubt); a new transportation system for the whole of Canada and for the city transit systems; etc. Hardly a picture to arouse gloom and doom — or anger.

Even the Tories, under Stanfield, took great pains to develop a more left or reform image. For example, his desire to gain a base in Quebec led him to sacrifice a seat in Moncton in order to prevent anti-French →p.2

"Point number one, comma . . ."

Despite the view of many radicals that the NDP was punished for subordinating its identity to the Liberals, many mass dailies saw it differently. (from Toronto Sun)

p. 2

bigot Leonard Jones from appearing on the P.C. ballot. And even when it came to the issue of a wage-price freeze, Stanfield tried to make it appear more fair and just by advocating an income-price freeze, which would freeze rents, stocks, bonds, etc. as well.

But, of course, the pro-Liberal vote was essentially a vote against the Tory threat of a wage freeze. The Liberal sweep came from Quebec and from the major urban centres right across Canada, ie, areas of industrial working class concentration, areas of highest inflation and militancy. And according to Canadian pollster, Peter Regenstreif, the survey trends indicated that concern about inflation was running as high as 80 percent across the country — an all-time high in the history of polling. In the face of these facts, workers were in no mood to accept a wage freeze and they rallied against it.

As labor columnist, Ed Finn, pointed out: union officials "convinced their members that the worst disaster that could befall them would be a victory for the PC's." This union strategy against the wage freeze backfired against the NDP as a Tory victory seemed more certain. The NDP did not appear as a real possibility for government because it had so few seats. Besides, splits between NDP and Liberal votes might work in favor of the Tories.

The NDP ran its most radical campaign in this election and encompassed many of the demands of the radical candidates. Lewis made the central theme of the NDP campaign the issue of corporate power versus the people. He took on the multinationals, opposed the Mackenzie Valley pipeline, popularized the nationalization of the big oil corporations, and explained that although corporations were not running as such, as long as the Liberals or Tories are in office, the corporations are "never, ever in opposition." All the NDP candidates' literature reflected this approach thus putting the NDP candidacy on a higher plane politically than any previous election campaign.

But Canadian workers voted for a government which the NDP and all the left candidates declared to be a party of the US-dominated corporations. That is a significant statement about the level of class consciousness in this country. Perhaps, even more significant is that a high turnout of workers in Quebec voted for the party of the War Measures Act — overwhelmingly. Despite the presence of an NDP alternative and the Parti Quebecois spoil-the-ballot campaign.

Despite the burning issue of national self-determination, Quebecois workers voted for the party of the War Measures Act but also increased their vote slightly for the pro-federalist NDP (presumably from class conscious workers). This significant fact seems to contradict the view of Canadian nationalists like the Waffle that the issue of Canadian nationalism is so overriding as to cause the workers to bypass the NDP. The miniscule vote for all the revolutionary groups reveals their general irrelevancy in this election at this time. It also shows that the NDP is to the left of the workers in general and that the opportunist leadership of the NDP have still plenty of latitude to move to the left in their pursuit of parliamentary office.

The revolutionary left seriously miscalculated its task when they ran in this election. The NDP did not constitute a barrier to the class, but rather an opening that serious revolutionaries could take advantage of by identifying with it and integrating themselves within this party in order to get a hearing and develop some influence in the most advanced mass political arena of working class politics.

Many socialist critics of the NDP try to find the source of its failure at the polls in its "sinful past". Echoing Tory leader Stanfield, they argue that the NDP lost its identity when it went into a "coalition" with the Liberals. What these critics fail to realize is that the NDP with its paltry 31 seats could hardly hold the balance of power in a parliament of 264 seats, the remainder of which were held by representatives of the capitalist parties. On the key class votes, such as tax cuts for the corporations or the breaking of the railway strike, the capitalist parties voted against the NDP.

The NDP manoeuvered in parliament to win reforms that would appeal to workers not to support the Liberal policies. And Lewis' identification with the Liberal government ceased when the NDP brought the government down.

There is little objective basis for claiming that the NDP's identity as a party was blurred by its activity in the last parliament. An August 7, 1974 Gallup Poll pointed out that only 53 percent of the Canadian elec-

→p3

Union ranks grow, Ntl unions rise

The number of union members in Canada now stands at a record 2.5 million. However the work force has been growing by leaps and bounds. The early sixties, while more workers were becoming unionized, actually registered a considerable decline in the percentage of the non-agricultural work force who were organized in unions. Thus despite the boast of the union brass, the relative strength of those who were unionists in the work force was actually declining.

From 1960 on there was a decline in the percentage of workers who were organized — until 1967 when it returned to the figure of 32.3 percent.

The latest figures now show that, as of Jan. 1, 1973, we crossed the 35 percent point — 35.6 percent of the Canadian work force is now unionized.

The growth has not been in the US-based international unions. They have shown a considerable decline within the last year — from 59.6 percent of the union membership to 56.5 percent. The major growth is in the national unions both in English Canada and Quebec, among public service employees unions, and in particular in The Canadian Union of Public Employees which has now passed the United Steelworkers' 180,000 to rally 191,265 members.

D.3

torate are able to distinguish any really important difference between the Liberal and Conservative parties. Almost one-third believe there are no basic differences, while 15 percent are unsure. Sixty-four per cent feel real differences exist between the PC's and the NDP and 67 percent believe this between the Liberals and the NDP. Among NDP voters, only 39 percent perceive important differences between the Liberals and the Conservatives.

This is not to deny that the NDP's image as a party has been manipulated into an electoral machine by the party leadership. In particular, the riding associations have been made peripheral to the life of the party and often convention resolutions have been ignored by NDP governments and by the federal party apparatus. For example, the NDP women's conference in Winnipeg noted that the party hierarchy had sent out secret directives to NDP federal candidates to avnid the issue of abortion.

The debacle in British Columbia is another example of how the NDP leadership followed a policy of emasculating the role of the rank and file only to have this boomerang against the party in the election. Under assault from the sabotage campaigns of the mining corporations, the Barrett government failed to defend itself and thus left itself vulnerable to the "Barrett backlash".

Drawing the lessons of the election debacle in B.C., Hans Brown, provincial secretary of the B.C. NDP wrote in the party newspaper, **Democrat:**

"Our B.C. government's public relations are bad. Our good legislation is going relatively unnoticed, unexplained and unappreciated.

"More important, our organization is becoming run down. In the two years since we were elected government, our membership has stagnated, our organizers have been cut back, our coffers are dry and our people are tired.

"The trade union movement, in the main, stands at arm's length. The middle level leadership of the party — the provincial executive, riding executives, election organizers — are being ignored, stonewalled, gladhanded, but seldom involved by Victoria."

Of course, the alternative to the elitist and detached attitude of the NDP leaders is to involve rank and file NDPers in the decisions and activities of the party and to create a pro-labor press which explains and defends NDP policies against the attacks of the big business press.

However, it is sigificant that although the NDP popular vote dropped 2.5 percentage points from the 1972 election, the NDP retained its 1968 core vote. It still enjoys the support of the major unions and maintains a large base among class conscious workers. Even in Quebec, the NDP's working class support was reflected in the endorsation of the Quebec Federation of Labor, Marcel Pepin (head of the CNTU), and Robert Burns (House leader of the PQ).

Moreover, the NDP has recruited numbers of new members in the course of the election. For example, in Dovercourt riding, 200 new members were signed up, in Broadview more than 60, and likewise in many other ridings. And as the recent strike wave continues to spread and workers begin to become more militant about protecting themselves from the ravages of inflation, we can ancitipate that many will find their way into the NDP, thus opening up new possibilities for socialists.

What is crystal clear is that the NDP remains the most important arena for indepeodent working class action. The way forward for socialists is to move into the NDP as effective builders of the labor party and as defenders of socialist ideas and party activism within the ranks.

Subscribe! 6 issues for $1.

name _____

address _____

FORWARD, Box 778, Adelaide St. P.O. Toronto.

Where is the working class at?

A contribution to the discussion on NDP election results

by Gord Deutsch
(from Forward, September 1974)

Although the radicalization in Canada is deepening and widening, the last federal election did not reflect this in terms of a left shift in the voting.

This election had a highly unusual character. The election emerged as a reaction against the threat of a wage freeze. The majority of workers responded by voting for a stable Liberal majority and pulled back from voting NDP to hedge against splitting the vote in favor of the Tories who appeared strong enough to win the government.

But the vote for the Liberals does not reflect a pro-business vote. Management consultant Richard Finlay in the August 6 *(Toronto) Star* noted that "all the major parties appeared to adopt an anti-business stance in many policies ... All the evidence suggests that the attitude of 'taking (on) big business' was merely a political response to the public mood." He went on to point out that this attitude was reinforced by the "energy crisis, record corporate profits and broadening nationalist concern over multi-national firms and the use of Canadian natural resources". And therefore he concluded that the drop in NDP support on July 8 was not due to a "lessening of public antipathy toward business" but "more due to its faulty political strategy" and the fact that everyone knew it could not deliver a majority government.

How should socialists assess this conjuncture in terms of the development of working class consciousness? What tasks does this pose for socialists?

In the first place, we must frankly admit that this election was in the nature of a referendum centered around the question of which government will rule in parliament: a government of the workers or a government of the bosses? Workers had a variety of left choices on July 8.

If workers wanted to vote for something more than a reformist labor party like the NDP, they could have voted for the *(Stalinist–ed.)* Communist Party of Canada or the Marxist Leninist Party (Maoists), both of which were on the ballot and had access to free time on CBC. The CP's big ads in the capitalist daily press, their ample literature and all-candidates platforms permitted these parties to get a wide hearing.

If some anti-Stalinist workers wanted a Trotskyist choice instead, the Revolutionary Marxist Group provided 3 candidates and the League for Socialist Action an additional one.

If Canadian workers rejected these candidates because of their factional attacks against the radical Canadian nationalist sentiment, then they had a choice in the Waffle candidacies. The Waffle is nationally known, particularly to NDPers, and they presented a

very full and detailed program for Socialism and Independence. They carried an energetic canvassing campaign, debated with other party candidates at all-candidates meetings and held rallies of their own. Certainly we can say they ran a serious and prominent campaign even though they did not appear on the ballot with their party name.

We can conclude from all this that the working class was presented with very broad choices: between Capital and Labor, between reformism and revolution, between Russian Stalinism and Chinese Stalinism, between Stalinism and Trotskyism, and between anti-nationalist sectarianism and a socialist perspective within the framework of the nationalist sentiment. So we can say — recognizing all the truisms about dollar democracy in elections — that this election, represented a referendum on the question of parliamentary power. And despite this, workers did not vote left.

Clearly, the revolutionary socialists could not intervene to "change the relationship of forces" in this election. This is due to the fact that there was no feeling of crisis or necessity for drastic changes. So much so that even the forcing of an election was met with disfavor by the Canadian voters. According to a July 3 Gallup Poll, 44 percent of Canadians did not want an election whereas only 43 percent did.

Certainly the NDP's election strategy suffered as a result. As *(Montreal daily) Le Devoir* editor, Claude Ryan, noted: "The NDP has found itself in the uncomfortable position of having to answer both for keeping the Liberals in power until May and for precipitating an unwanted election by withdrawing their support from the Liberals."

The pressure of this feeling among the electorate was so prevalent that Lewis at one point in the campaign stated that he would be prepared to support another minority Liberal government. Realizing that this statement could only serve to strengthen the Liberals, Lewis reversed himself in a subsequent interview.

The Liberals demogogically picked up on this mood. Their message all along was that Canadians never had it so good, that there was no crisis, that Stanfield was full of gloom and doom, and that David Lewis was always angry about something.

To make sure that the message came across, Trudeau emphasized the prospect of the good life by his “reform a day keeps the NDP away" bundle of reform goodies in his campaign. In Winnipeg, he would build an Air Canada operation to provide jobs; in Ontario, the Liberals are financing the Harbor Front Amusement Park (to bemuse the taxpayers no doubt); a new transportation system for the whole of Canada and for the city transit systems, etc. Hardly a picture to arouse gloom and doom — or anger.

Even the Tories, under Stanfield, took great pains to develop a more left or reform image. For example, his desire to gain a base in Quebec led him to sacrifice a seat in Moncton (New Brunswick) in order to prevent anti-French bigot Leonard Jones from appearing on the P.C. ballot. And even when it came to the issue of a wage-price freeze, Stanfield tried to make it appear more fair and just by advocating an income-price freeze, which would freeze rents, stocks, bonds, etc. as well.

But, of course, the pro-Liberal vote was essentially a vote against the Tory threat of a wage freeze. The Liberal sweep came from Quebec and from the major urban centres right across Canada, ie, areas of industrial working class concentration, areas of highest inflation and militancy. And according to Canadian pollster Peter Regenstreif, the survey trends indicated that concern about inflation was running as high as 80 percent across the country — an all-time high in the history of polling. In the face of these facts, workers were in no mood to accept a wage freeze and they rallied against it.

As labor columnist Ed Finn pointed out:union officials "convinced their members that the worst disaster that could befall them would be a victory for the PCs." This union strategy against the wage freeze backfired against the NDP as a Tory victory seemed more certain. The NDP did not appear as a real possibility for government because it had so few seats. Besides, splits between NDP and Liberal votes might work in favor of the Tories.

The NDP ran its most radical campaign in this election and encompassed many of the demands of the radical candidates. Lewis made the central theme of the NDP campaign the issue of corporate power versus the people. He took on the multinationals, opposed the Mackenzie Valley pipeline, popularized the nationalization of the big oil corporations, and explained that although corporations were not running as such, as long as the Liberals or Tories are in office, the corporations are "never, ever in opposition." All the NDP candidates' literature reflected this approach thus putting the NDP candidacy on a higher plane politically than any previous election campaign.

But Canadian workers voted for a government which the NDP and all the left candidates declared to be a party of the US-dominated corporations. That is a significant statement about the level of class consciousness in this country. Perhaps, even more significant is that a high turnout of workers in Quebec voted for the party of the War Measures Act — overwhelmingly - despite the presence of an NDP alternative and the Parti Québécois spoil-the-ballot campaign.

Despite the burning issue of national self-determination, Québécois workers voted for the party of the War Measures Act but also increased their vote slightly for the pro-federalist NDP (presumably from class conscious workers). This significant fact seems to contradict the view of Canadian nationalists like the Waffle that the issue of Canadian nationalism is so overriding as to cause the workers to bypass the NDP. The miniscule vote for all the revolutionary groups reveals their general irrelevancy in this election at this time. It also shows that the NDP is to the left of the workers in general and that the opportunist leadership of the NDP have still plenty of latitude to move to the left in their pursuit of parliamentary office.

The revolutionary left seriously miscalculated its task when they ran in this election. The NDP did not constitute a barrier to the class, but rather an opening that serious revolutionaries could take advantage of by identifying with it and integrating themselves within this party in order to get a hearing and develop some influence in the most advanced mass political arena of working class politics.

Many socialist critics of the NDP try to find the source of its failure at the polls in its "sinful past". Echoing Tory leader Stanfield, they argue that the NDP lost its identity when it went into a "coalition" with the Liberals. What these critics fail to realize is that the NDP with its paltry 31 seats could hardly hold the balance of power in a parliament of 264 seats, the remainder of which were held by representatives of the capitalist parties. On the key class votes, such as tax cuts for the corporations or the breaking of the railway strike, the capitalist parties voted against the NDP.

The NDP manoeuvered in parliament to win reforms that would appeal to workers not to support the Liberal policies. And Lewis' identification with the Liberal government ceased when the NDP brought the government down.

There is little objective basis for claiming that the NDP's identity as a party was blurred by its activity in the last parliament. An August 7, 1974 Gallup Poll pointed out that only 53 percent of the Canadian electorate are able to distinguish any really important difference between the Liberal and Conservative parties. Almost one-third believe there are no basic differences, while 15 percent are unsure. Sixty-four per cent feel real differences exist between the PC's and the NDP and 67 percent believe this between the Liberals and the NDP. Among NDP voters, only 39 percent perceive important differences between the Liberals and the Conservatives.

This is not to deny that the NDP's image as a party has been manipulated into an electoral machine by the party leadership. In particular, the riding associations have been made peripheral to the life of the party and often convention resolutions have been ignored by NDP governments and by the federal party apparatus. For example, the NDP women's conference in Winnipeg noted that the party hierarchy had sent out secret directives to NDP federal candidates to avoid the issue of abortion.

The debacle in British Columbia is another example of how the NDP leadership followed a policy of emasculating the role of the rank and file only to have this boomerang against the party in the election. Under assault from the sabotage campaigns of the mining corporations, the Barrett government failed to defend itself and thus left itself vulnerable to the "Barrett backlash".

Drawing the lessons of the election debacle in B.C., Hans Brown, provincial secretary of the B.C. NDP wrote in the party newspaper, *The Democrat*: "Our B.C. government's public relations are bad. Our good legislation is going relatively unnoticed, unexplained and unappreciated. "More important, our organization is becoming run down. In the two years since we were elected government, our membership has stagnated, our organizers have been cut back, our coffers are dry and our people are tired.

"The trade union movement, in the main, stands at arm's length. The middle level leadership of the party— the provincial executive, riding executives, election organizers — are being ignored, stonewalled, glad-handed, but seldom involved by Victoria."

Of course, the alternative to the elitist and detached attitude of the NDP leaders is to involve rank and file NDPers in the decisions and activities of the party and to create a pro-labor press which explains and defends NDP policies against the attacks of the big business press.

However, it is significant that although the NDP popular vote dropped 2.5 percentage points from the 1972 election, the NDP retained its 1968 core vote. It still enjoys the support of the major unions and maintains a large base among class conscious workers. Even in Quebec, the NDP's working class support was reflected in the endorsation of the Quebec Federation of Labor, Marcel Pepin (head of the CNTU), and Robert Burns (House leader of the PQ).

Moreover, the NDP has recruited numbers of new members in the course of the election. For example, in Dovercourt riding, 200 new members were signed up, in Broadview more than 60, and likewise in many other ridings. And as the recent strike wave continues to spread and workers begin to become more militant about protecting themselves from the ravages of inflation, we can anticipate that many will find their way into the NDP, thus opening up new possibilities for socialists. What is crystal clear is that the NDP remains the most important arena for independent working class action. The way forward for socialists is to move into the NDP as effective builders of the labor party and as defenders of socialist ideas and party activism within the ranks.

====START BOX ====
Union ranks grow, National unions rise

The number of union members in Canada now stands at a record 2.5 million. However the work force has been growing by leaps and bounds. The early sixties, while more workers were becoming unionized, actually registered a considerable decline in the percentage of the non- agricultural work force who were organized in unions. Thus despite the boast of the union brass, the relative strength of those who were unionists in the work force was actually declining.

From 1960 on there was a decline in the percentage of workers who were organized — until 1967 when it returned to the figure of 32.3 percent.

The latest figures now show that, as of Jan. 1, 1973, we crossed the 35 percent point — 35.6 percent of the Canadian work force is now unionized. The growth has not been in the US-based international unions. They have shown a considerable decline within the last year — from 59.6 percent of the union membership to 56.5 percent. The major growth is in the national unions both in English Canada and Quebec, among public service employees unions, and in particular in The Canadian Union of Public Employees which has now passed the United Steelworkers' 180,000 to rally 191,265 members.

===END BOX ===

forward
#2 Sept 1974

Sweeping challenge by MLA at

NDP Women's Assembly

by Glynnis Jones

"We dare not hesitate to make all levels of the party aware that feminists accept the liberation of women as a priority issue and expect their party leaders, officers and representatives to do so unequivocally. We must re-establish the true equality of women as the cornerstone of socialist philosophy."

Those are the words of Vancouver-Burrard NDP M.L.A. Rosemary Brown. Her speech to the first national conference of New Democratic Party women, prompted loud applause and set the tone for the conference, held in Winnipeg, Manitoba, July 26-28th.

The conference, the result of a resolution passed at the 1973 federal convention, was organized to discuss the women's policy of the NDP, but the women attending did more. They expressed their frustration with the three existing NDP provincial governments and called for more united action by NDP women, both inside and outside the party. They prepared for a committee of provincial delegates to nominate a woman, committed to women's rights, to run for the federal leadership of the party. They sent a telegram to Justice Minister Otto Lang, Prime Minister Trudeau, and Quebec Justice Minister Jerome Choquette, demanding the discharge of Dr. Henry Morgentaler, the Montreal physician recently prosecuted for performing abortions. They called on their Federal Council to organize a fund drive for the defense of Dr. Morgentaler and to publicize his plight in all NDP publications. Ms. Brown gave the challenge:

"It is my hope that this conference will mark the beginning of an end of an era — that out of this conference will come the strength, the resolution and the tools to ensure such equality in this party that feminists will no longer find the need to separate and work, and draw strength and resources from each other, in order to better carry on the socialist struggle within the party. I believe that for feminists within a socalist party to need to have such a conference, is a clear indication of failure, somewhere, on the part of the party or its feminist members." However, she then documented the need for separate action by women.

She said she had discovered that though women had worked long and hard for the party and the CCF before it, they were denied mention by historians, even if the historians were NDPers. She referred to Desmond Morton's book **NDP: The Dream of Power**: this book states quite clearly that the NDP is a party made up of, not men and women, but of persons; a book which then proceeds to chronicle the history of all the contributions made to the party by male persons **only**. Grace McInnis is shown in one small group picture. No mention of her is made. The only comment on "the role of women in the party is 'the NDP has generally abandoned attempts to maintain special federal organizations for women and youth supporters . . . the abler members of both groups find the opportunities in the main party institutions, leaving women's groups to collapse or as a prey to outside infiltration.' "If you ever wondered what you are, you're either collapsing or outside infiltrators," Ms. Brown said amid laughter.

"What happened to women who have canvassed, done sweat work, run in unwinnable ridings, and is there any link between their fate and our presence here to-night?

"Women's liberation is a socialist principle. We have to withhold support from candidates or leaders or anyone running for office who has not demonstrated a clear commitment to this principle."

Ms. Brown encouraged women to develop an international understanding of the women's movement. "It's like the paint commercial, it covers the earth. The **International Herald Tribune** credited the 1.4 percent win of Giscard d'Estang over Francois Mitterand to the feminine vote and the promise of the woman's ministry. D'Estang is no socialist. In Sweden the centre party won the last election because of what it offered women. The woman's vote, traditionally social democratic, swung to the right. Women are now voting as a bloc, as a sex. They are willing to swing their vote. This is not possible for socialist women. We have no alternative but to remain and re-establish within the party the commitment to equality. We cannot swing our vote, we have to swing our party."

As Brown's speech reflects, the conference was an inspiring and important step for NDP women. They came together and militantly expressed their aspiration for a fighting party for women. Workshop discussion genuinely attempted to push women, everywhere, forward. The 149 delegates there knew that NDP women have been isolated from the women's movement and accepted the necessity to change and get involved in extra-parliamentary work.

When the manifesto of the B.C. women was presented it was well received. Eighty-two delegates represented three NDP provinces where lengthy confrontations have taken place on the implementation of NDP policy on women. NDP women had just gone through a federal election where women's rights had been ignored.

The militancy and enthusiasm of the women who attended the Winnipeg conference can only find expression when their resolution asking the Federal Council for a national women's committee with its own budget is implemented.

forward #2 Sept 1974

MORGENTALER FACES COURT

by Ellie Kirzner

While Dr. Henry Morgentaler prepares to meet the Supreme Court of Canada on October 3rd, a massive telegram campaign has been launched by Pierre Berton and June Callwood calling for repeal of the oppressive laws under which he faces imprisonment. The Supreme Court hearings will follow in the wake of a set of complicated proceedings by which Dr. Morgentaler has seen himself declared innocent of performing an illegal abortion by a jury, only to have this decision overturned by the Quebec Court of Appeals. On July 25th, he was sentenced to 18 months in jail.

The dramatic telegram campaign sponsored by the widely-based Freedom of Choice, is being built in the midst of continued excitement and controversy which surrounds the issue. A pre-election rally initiated by the Toronto Morgentaler Defense Committee, chaired by June Callwood and featuring Dr. Morgentaler, was addressed by Ionna Samis representing the Ontario Federation of Labour, a number of NDP candidates, a Waffle spokesperson, and representatives from the League for Socialist Action, the Revolutionary Marxist Group and the Socialist League.

As well, in late June, the general council of the Canadian Medical Assaciation was able to withstand the organized efforts of anti-abortion doctors who were attempting to impose more stringent guidelines on the granting of abortions.

More recently, it has generated a full page article on the abortion issue in the Toronto Star when Justice Minister Otto Lang shared a page with June Callwood. Countering Lang's bleatings that abortion is murder, Callwood scored the government's hypocrisy by charging that "... the real killers of babies are not doctors like Dr. Morgentaler or people who sign the telegram to change abortion laws. The biggest baby killers sit in the House of Commons, in all the provincial parliaments and in municipal offices, where budgets are drafted and priorities are established that essentially discard children. When reverence for life stops at the moment that the umbilical cord is cut, it cannot be taken seriously."

The recent headlined expose of fly-by-night abortion referral agents has revealed the way in which repressive abortion laws generate even wider realms of exploitation for women. Often charging up to $150 for the referral alone, these centres exemplify the de-humanizing effects of not making abortion a safe, legal, and socially legitimated alternative for women.

At exactly the same time that Dr. Morgentaler was before the courts fighting for women's right to safe and self-respecting abortions, the Toronto press was sensationalizing the details of one referral agency which was sending women to the filthy office of a Buffalo doctor convicted of criminally negligent homocide in the death of a patient. A cruel irony exists in the fact that while shady profiteers are free to feed off the miseries of Canadian women, Dr. Morgentaler gets an 18 month sentence.

Girding themselves for the October 3rd Supreme Court confrontation, abortion repeal groups have made plans on a number of levels. The Freedom of Choice, besides the continuation of the telegram campaign, has retained well-known civil rights lawyer Clayton Ruby to prepare and present a brief to the Supreme Court as an intervenor in the Morgentaler hearings. The Canadian Association for the Repeal of Abortion Laws (CARAL) has established an office and employed an organizer to coordinate national efforts, and the Morgentaler Defense Committees across the country are planning rallies and demonstrations for the end of September.

forward #2 Sept 1974

On the contrary: student movement far from dead

by Dale Ritch

Since the late sixties when wave after wave of radical political activities swept Canada's campuses, many observers have predicted the imminent demise of the student movement. This prediction appears on the surface to have more validity now than ever before.

Last year was perhaps the quietest year on Canadian campuses since the mid-sixties in terms of strikes, occupations, and mass struggles. Even more ominously, at the University of Toronto, a 'cradle' of student radicalism, reactionary faculty and administration have managed to mobilize the majority of student opinion against a left-wing group, the SDS (Students for a Democratic Society). Supporters of the capitalist system have been quick to see, in this lull of student activism, a return to the good old days of goldfish swallowing and panty raids.

However, a deeper look at the attitudes and practises of Canadian youth reveals somewhat of a different pattern. In fact, radical ideas have been adopted by ever broadening layers of campus and non-campus youth over the past few years in spite of the temporary decline in organized political activities. One indication is the increased interest in the study of Marxist and socialist ideas. Women's studies courses have been established in many universities across the country. Socialist organizations and lecture series have more influence than ever before.

Well, if students tend to be more radical now, then why this lull in activity? The answer to this lies in a material analysis of youth and their class origins in our society. Students are essentially a classless layer, a layer in transition from a largely middle-class background to a future career which most students hope will not be working class (but most likely will be). Students therefore do not have common historieal interests as a class. Also, because only a few years are spent in a post-secondary institution, there is a tremendous turnover and lack of continuity of leadership in the campus political scene. For these reasons, the student milieu is very unstable and susceptible to severe fluctuations in terms of the nature and intensity of political activities.

There are specific factors that played an important role in the development of the current hiatus. The end of the anti-Vietnam war movement which followed from the pullout of American ground troops frnm Southeast Asia removed a main focal point for student struggle. This movement, which reflected both the anti-war and anti-American imperialist sentiments of Canadian youth, was the main driving force of the youth radicalization in Canada and its absence deprived the movement of a unifying inspiration.

University administrators defused potentially explosive issues by granting many concessions such as student representation on governing bodies, liberalized curricula and academic standards, provision of daycare facilities, etc. Various levels of government contributed their share by setting up socially oriented employment programs such as OFY and LIP.

Interestingly enough, when the Ontario government decided to rationalize post-secondary education and curtail its accessibility to working-class youth by raising tuition fees in the spring of 1972, students across the province responded with mass demonstrations, a wave of occupations, and a province-wide fee strike. Since the fall of 1972 however, when tuition was raised $100, the Tory government has pulled back from further implementation of the COPSEO report. Last year, student-aid money was increased slightly and money granted to universities increased significantly from the previous year.

Finally, the first wave of student unrest peaked when the working class was in a quiescent mood. Thus the student movement was denied the additional momentum it could have received from a corresponding radicalization in the working class.

These objective features in-

→p.2

D.2

tensified a major problem of the movement, albeit a subjective one, the all important question of leadership. On the one hand, many activists got sidetracked into the dead ends of lobbying, of sitting on interminable committees to change university structure from 'within', or accepting jobs with OFY, LIP or other hip social agencies. On the other hand, other radicals, mistaking the present lull for a permanent feature, have turned their backs on the student movement and sought out the more purified atmosphere of the working class milieu where they can hopefully cleanse themselves of their petit-bourgeois background. Many of them even reject the legitimacy of student struggles.

The youth radicalization which began to blossom in the sixties will continue unabated both on the campus and off. Campus youth in particular, because of their access to education, and relative freedom from oppressive routine, will continue to challenge the injustices of capitalist society. The ongoing economic crisis in western society will necessitate a continuation of the attack on the education system by big business in Canada.

The educational cutbacks are an attack not only on students but on the working class as well because cutbacks will further limit educational opportunities for working-class youth. Thus the students' struggle against cutbacks, tuition increases, and for a better quality of education has a class character. Already, student organizations such as the Ontario Federation of Students have won the support of the NDP and the OFL in their fight against cutbacks and the COPSEO report.

Students have reciprocated by rallying to the support of campus workers at the University of Quebec in Montreal and the University of Manitoba by building strike actions. Students and campus workers are increasingly turning to one another for support in the face of hostile administrations and governments.

In their attempts to attack educational and living standards on the campuses, administrations and governments will increasingly rely on repressive measures to undermine the ability of students to fight back. The current situation at the University of Toronto is a good example of this repression. Recently, two students have been tried and sentenced to long suspensions by the CAPUT, a notorious anti-student disciplinary body. These suspensions and the fact that CAPUT was able to function for the first time in many years represents a defeat for students at the University of Toronto.

The administration has used the resentment of many U. of T. students against SDS's stupid 'Ban Banfield' campaign to launch an offensive against democratic rights at U. of T. The Conway-Cadario discipline Code, opposed by every campus student organization, and by a campus-wide referendum is now likely to be implemented.

It is necessary to protest the suspensions of the SDSers and to fight against implementation of the Code. The best way that this fight can be conducted is around the demand for a student "Bill of Rights" which would define the rights of students, both academic and non-academic, and establish student structures to implement these rights and protect them. Such a Bill of Rights would also challenge the all-encompassing power of the administration and reactionary faculty by demanding student-staff-faculty control of all university affairs.

All indicators point to the resurgence of a powerful, nation-wide student movement which will inevitably challenge all the institutions of an unjust society in a process of decay. Student demands, whether they relate to purely 'economistic' student issues, or to broader social questions, cannot in the long run be won within the limits of capitalism in Canada. The heroic struggles of students in many nations, in Greece, Thailand, Korea and elsewhere can inspire Canadian youth to struggle against oppression on a much grander scale than ever envisioned in the past.

advertisement

Socialist Bookshelf Service

by James P. Cannon
Notebook of an Agitator $3.95
Speeches for Socialism $3.95
Socialism on Trial $1.75
by George Novak
Humanism and Socialism $2.50
Democracy and Revolution $3.45
also
SAMIZDAT - Voices of the Soviet Opposition $4.75

from
Socialist
Bookshelf
85 King St. E.
Toronto. (363 6755)

prices subject to change without notice

forward #2 Sept 1974

Language Bill passed in face of

Protests in Quebec

by John Morgan

Quebec's Bill 22 has become law. Ostensibly designed to protect the French language, the bill in fact gives greater specific legal status to English in education, public administration and private industry.

The bill was passed despite widely based protests. For over two months the Assembly was tied up in the debate.

The debate was headline news for a month and attracted more than 100 delegations to public hearings. Nearly unanimous in their opposition to the bill, they included French, English and immigrant submissions from teachers' federations and locals, school commissions, French nationalist organizations and the four trade union centres.

But the political force of the workers, "le monde ordinaire", was only palely reflected in the battle against continued erosion of French at work and in their children's schools. Their desire to put French on an equal footing with English is the most immediate way the Quebecois see to lift themselves out of their inferior status. To achieve this — in face of the overwhelming presence of English North America — they must establish French as the dominant language in Quebec. A victory here, on the cultural battlefield, would have great practical, results. In demanding a French Quebec, the Quebecois see the way to end their inferior status, as 40 percent of Canada's unemployed, as workers earning 13 percent less than the Canadian average in manufacturing. They see it as a way to wrest cultural control from the jealous clutches of Ottawa — the centre and inspiration of the drive by American and Anglo-Canadian capital to assimilate Quebec.

The setback that passage of Bill 22 represents was due to the lack of mobilization of its opponents. The Mouvement Québec Français (MQF), supported by the three major union centres and many diverse nationalist currents talked only of future mobilizations, "un automne chaud" (a hot autumn), while the Parti Québécois, enjoying virtual hegemony of nationalist forces, denounced any mass opposition in a partisan move to maintain their respectability.

But as tension mounted in the debates, Bourassa was forced to use his huge parliamentary majority to streamroller the final vote in the Assembly through a motion of closure. This action triggered the sluggish MQF into action — et viola! — from all corners of Quebec, on a few hours notice, over 2,000 demonstrators appeared in Quebec City.

PQ leader Morin declared, astonished, "It's marvellous. Personally, I never believed in mass demonstrations . . . I didn't know it was possible . . ." The crowd shouted angrily at the Liberal deputies: "102 traitors and sellouts" and "Bourassa-Judas". Quebec Federation of Labor leader Fernand Daoust addressed the crowd: "In a few hours, the victory of the bosses will be won. It will be the victory of the possessing minority, of whom the majority are English speaking". Marcel Pepin, president of the Confederation of National Trade Unions, declared that it mattered little if the bill was passed, asking "Are you ready to continue the struggle?" The crowd roared back: "oui".

The mood spread to the Legislature, where the Liberals hastily adjourned the session, with PQ deputy Charron yelling at their heels: "You're scared — you cowards! Tonight, you refuse to deliberate before the people, you run like cowards, you abandon Quebec's parliament. You weren't elected by the people to betray them!"

Yvon Charbonneau, leader of the militant Teachers' federation, summed up the feelings of many: "I'm enraged to see the impotence of these people before this big building (the legislature). We must be on the inside, and not obliged to cry out our miscontent from the outside." Clearly, Charbonneau's plea could only be answered by the formation of a Quebec labor party, directly controlled by the mass organizations of Quebec workers — those who found themselves "on the outside" in this debate.

Why did the Liberals risk possible social upheaval with this explosive question, and what was the final outcome of this tug-of-war between the English corporate minority and the nationalist and union forces against the bill? As Bourassa cooly reasoned in his defence of the terms dealing with French in business: "Even if 80 percent of the inhabitants of the Province of Quebec speak French, about 85 percent of the executives of medium and large businesses are of the English language."

The widespread cynicism over the official federal policy of bilingualism is a result of its failure to make more than symbolic headway. French language signs can be seen in government buildings from Newfoundland to BC, and English signs can be seen in deepest French Quebec. There is even French TV and radio in Toronto. But as regards the Federal Civil Service, which was to have achieved 60 percent bilingualism by 1975, Le Devoir reported in October 1972 that the representation of Quebecois in the upper levels was hardly over the 13 percent level of 1966, and more Anglophones than ever were unilingual (71 percent) despite crash

→p.2

Premier Bourassa with Education Minister Cloutier

classes in French. In the city of Montreal, with its 36 percent Anglophone population, hardly a third are bilingual.

The policy of bilingualism has thus very strongly favored English in Quebec, while in New Brunswick the same law is failing to protect the rights of the province's 34 percent Acadiens, and in Manitoba the last French-language school has just closed its doors, throwing its French pupils out to seek neighbouring English instruction.

Bill 63, which was passed in 1969 to end the first attempt to institute a progressively applied program of unilingual French classes in the Montreal suburb of St-Léonard by establishing the right of parents to decide on the language of instruction, has seen in 5 years a growing number of immigrants opting for English schools (75 percent in 1971). This has been accompanied by a significant shift of Quebecois pupils to the English sector as well, particularly in Ottawa-Hull.

In fact, the same week Bill 22 was presented to the Assembly, nationalist and trade union forces succeeded in mobilizing to prevent a large French-language school in the north Montreal suburb of Chomedey, and with it a cultural and recreational centre, from being transformed summarily into an English junior high school.

In its final form, as Fernand Daoust noted, Bill 22 represents "a triumph of the possessing class, and more particularly, the bosses' lobby." Daoust points out that the suggestions for amendments proposed by the unions were ignored; that in deleting the entire section on labor relations (to be presented later in a new Labor Code), the bill "demonstrates the more official character of the English language at the level of negotiations and in grievance procedures than it had before."

As regards the "official" status Bill 22 supposedly gives French, there are more loopholes than guarantees: while companies doing business with the government must now obtain "francisation certificates" as proof they are attempting to use French internally, and for contracts, etc., the bill states that there should be no interference in "profitability". Members of professional associations, while they now are required to know French, may obtain one-year exemptions, followed by unlimited exemptions under certain conditions, in the same way the provincial civil servants are eligible for unlimited exemption from the requirement of knowing French if they do not have direct contact with the public.

Final amendments likewise even more clearly guarantee the existence of the English school system, although with a rider stating that their development must not be to the detriment of the French school system. The "linguistic aptitude tests" provided for in the original text designed to determine immigrant children's knowledge of English or French are rendered obligatory in the final text. However, 81 percent of immigrants now entering Quebec are English-speaking, less than 8 percent French-speaking.

The section authorizing "Welcome Centres" to teach French to new immigrants was dropped from Bill 63 and "forgotten" by Bill 22, as Immigration Minister Bienvenue expressed it. But these schools, the "COFI" have been on strike against the Minister of Education for some months. They were suddenly abolished on August 2 and integrated into Bienvenue's department. Thus the strike was broken, the teachers left without a union with no assurance they will be re-engaged into the new system, not yet established.

It is obvious that the Liberal government's battle has been won, but it is equally obvious that the war will continue, even on the same battlefield the bill delineates. The final outcome can only be settled with the victory of the rights of the majority being established — this means integration, on a progressive basis, of both immigrant and native Quebecois of all mother tongues, into one publicly subsidized French school system.

forward #2 Sept 1974

Toronto Socialist League holds classes on Marxism

The Socialist League has announced a series of classes on Marxist economic theory, Thursday nights, 8 p.m. at 85 King St. W. Already classes have been held on the Labor Theory of Value and Prices and Profit. The third class, September 5th will focus on Lenin's **Imperialism** and the fourth, September 12th on Imperialism and the Detente.

The question of economic theory is central for scientific socialists who seek to discover the central contradictions of capitalist society and the manner in which they impel society forward. Marxian socialists base their actions on the objective conditions of society; forging their program and strategy out of the objective needs of the working class, not out of their own dreams, wishes or impatience.

It is in this sense that Lenin made his famous comment that "there can be no revolutionary practice without revolutionary theory." There must be a theoretical foundation for the working class to take the means of production and the wealth and power attached to it out of the hands of the few who own it, in order to run society in the interests of the majority. These laws of capitalist society, first articulated by Karl Marx, were later refined and enriched under the experience of new developments noted by great Marxists like Lenin and Trotsky.

In his **Imperialism**, Lenin came to grips with a new stage of capitalism — the domination of monopoly and finance capital. Trotsky, noting the uneven development of capitalism on a world scale, enriched Marxism with his theory of the permanent revolution — the process by which the struggle for democratic reforms spills over into the socialist revolution. These concepts add profoundly to our understanding of the workings of the economy, nationalism, their relationship to the class struggle and other burning questions of Marxist practice.

The Socialist League, standing aside one night a week from the hustle and bustle of political activity, offers these classes to help integrate the forces of the new radicalization with the theory of the workers movement of over a century and to locate themselves in relationship to their heritage and their class.

A NEW PUBLICATION

against sectarianism

the challenge of the labor party

"...a contribution about the key question facing socialists in Canada today - the NDP, Canada's labor party...a contribution to the ongoing discussion in the left."

$1. (postage paid) from

SOCIALIST BOOKSHELF

85 King St. East, Toronto.

(Found in A74)

Socialist FORUM

Oct 4

IS CANADA HEADING FOR A DEPRESSION?

How will the Canadian economy, tied as it is to the American colossus, be affected by the deepening world imperialist economic crisis? Why have stock market values fallen to pre-1962 levels? What is the meaning of today's stagflation?

Oct 18

VALENTYN MOROZ AND THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM IN THE UKRAINE

A panel will discuss the on-going struggle for civil rights and self-determination in the Ukrainian SSR. Included in the panel will be a member of the Ukrainian-Canadian University Students Union.

Nov 1

THE UPSURGE IN CANADIAN LABOR STRUGGLES

Hear long-time socialist and labor writer Ross Dowson speak on the issues before the OFL convention and analyse the problems facing organized labor in the face of inflation and lay-offs.

Friday nights at 8

to be held at
ST. PAUL'S UNITED CHURCH
on Avenue Road - Entrance on Webster Street, one block below Davenport.

Question and Discussion period * Refreshments

For information: 363-6755

The Socialist League announces

a series of three classes on

PROBLEMS OF THE VANGUARD PARTY

You are invited to discuss the following topics:

OCTOBER 11

1. What is the nature of the enemy -- what kind of party is required to lead the working class to the head of a socialist Canada?

   Speaker: Dale Ritch

OCTOBER 25

2. The Leninist concept of the revolutionary party -- contrasted with the party concepts of reformist currents, and those of other revolutionary tendencies.

   Speaker: TBA

NOVEMBER 8

3. The Trotskyist experience in building the Revolutionary Party.

   Speaker: Jim Mitchell

Classes are held on alternate Friday evenings at 8 PM

at

85 King Street East (3rd floor), Toronto

For further information: 363-6755
Relevant pamphlets and books available
Reading List to follow

John Riddell, executive secretary
central office
League for Socialist Action/La Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere
334 Queen Street West
Toronto, Ont.

October 6/74

Dear John Riddell;

We, the undersigned members of the Transitional Program Tendency, by this statement renounce our membership in the LSA/LSO

Our efforts to modify the direction of the League's leadership have not been successful. Basic errors in orientation have ruined the work of the LSA/LSO. The line on the NDP has been changed behind the back of the movement without consultation, documentation or convention with the membership. The long term strategic approach to the NDP, the mass reformist organization of the Canadian working class, worked out over many years, has been replaced by a tactical approach in which the LSA/LSO has regarded the NDP leadership and rank and file as "a conveyor belt for capitalism to the class. " The LSA/LSO is being ludicrously counterposed to the NDP as an alternative before the electorate and before the working class. Orientation to the working class as a whole through ongoing intervention in its mass organizations, the NDP and the trade unions, has in effect been replaced by an orientation to "vanguard elements," a concept derived from the Revolutionary Marxist Group.

The class struggle is the crucible of ideas. The NDP is the arena in which we must contest for the leadership of the class. With the decay of the LSA/LSO's work in t the mass organizations of the working class, all mass orientation has been effectively lost. Previously the LSA has regarded itself as the revolutionary nucleus, with the correct basic program and the method of democratic centralism required for the construction of the future mass revolutionaary party. Today, this has been replaced by the concept that the LSA/LSO already constitutes the Party in an essentially complete form and will grow lineally to a mass revolutionary party.

We, the undersigned, feel exasperated at the tragically erroneous policy of the LSA/LSO leadership and its increasingly serious consequences. The policy of the LSA/LSO appears to be modelled on the document "Our Liquidation into the Ontario Waffle, the Lessons to Learn from it," (the 'and aldocument), Discussion Bulletin #44 of April, 1973. This is despite the fact that this very document was massively rejected by the LSA/LSO in the 1973 convention.

The LSA/LSO has advanced far down the road of becoming a mere sect. By effectively abstaining from the NDP and the trade unions, the mass reformist organizations of the class, the LSA/LSO, like the RMG, places itself outside the mainstream of the working class.

A leadership which refuses to acknowledge and to declare a change in line is bankrupt; and a membership that continues to support such a leadership becomes unredeemable. We therefore feel that there is no alternative open to us, although we regret to break our ties with the Lenin-Trotsky Faction and the SWP.

yours for Trotskyism

John Glenn

Art Gray

Regula Modlich

forward

CIA overthrow of Allende govt — was Cdn ambassador complicit ?

By Alice Klein

The real role of the US in provoking the infamous coup in Chile has now been exposed. Recent revelations have shown that the US financed the subversion of Allende's Government to the tune of eight million dollars — cash which represented up to $40 million worth of buying power through exchange on Chile's black market. These revelations which we can assume are still incomplete, include bribery of opposition party deputies, subsidies to the right-wing media and the financing of strike activity. More than half of the $8 million was used to provide support for such strikes as the nation-wide truck-owners strike which, lasting 26 days, paralyzed Chile's economy and provoked a series of crises for the Allende Government.

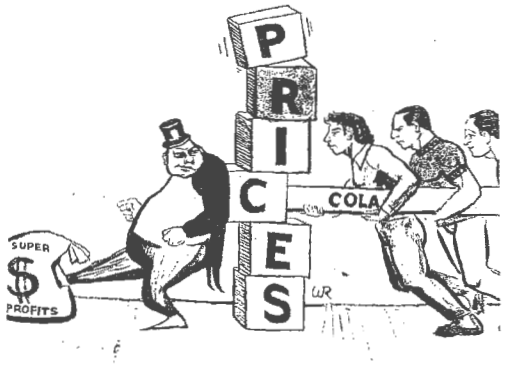
Ford's response continues in the tradition of the lying cynicism and criminal arrogance of his

his comment was
that of Henry
image as the
knight of foreign
unscathed from
Ford might to
coverup trail,
ly armour has
. He sums up the
f the American
cy as follows; "I
need to stand by
y go Communist
sibility of its own

e US ruling class'
placing its own
those of the
evidenced in the
, is one which
ounds. Rather it
f US policy in-
nly in Chile, not
t wherever their
porations exist,
e to be made and
ted. When Ford
whether the US
in Canada, he
uld act similarly
rld in defense of
ional security".
s give us good
hat information
overnment is
its complicity
olicy of the US.
iat is presently
the fact that

a more than favorable attitude to the coup. Ross commented in one of these telegrams that "IN OVER-THROWING ALLENDE GOVT CHILES MILITARY AND POLICE

continued on page 3



A united labor struggle needed to beat inflation

By Jim Chaplin

Canadians must "muster a great deal of self-discipline and self-restraint in the next 12 months to two years." These words spoken recently by Finance Minister John Turner to the Canadian Club put the onus of stopping skyrocketting inflation on the workers, since government policies favoring corporations prevent any restraints on profits.

Statistics used by CUPE's research director Gilbert Levine in a rebuttal of Turner's comments indicate that working people are not the cause of inflation but rather its victims. Without accounting for the reducing effects that income tax has on wage settlements, he said that contracts settled during the second quarter of 1974 gave workers an average increase of 12.6 per cent a year as compared to an annual inflation rate of 14.5 per cent. The real formula which would force the company to check off all union and non-union employees for union dues, is also confronted by a company that is terrified of having a Canadian settlement lay the basis for American workers to gain the same concessions.

Labor organiations must follow the lead of the 175,000 member CNTU, which has broadened COLA struggles by bringing unions into massive united action through co-ordinated strikes last May and COLA demonstrations on May 1st and September 5th. There is no question that this policy of the CNTU played a major role in enabling the Montreal transit workers to win a COLA settlement. The CNTU is considering expanding the COLA struggle by calling a province-wide general strike for this fall or early spring.

The major challenge before the upcoming Ontario Federation of Labor Convention is to widen COLA struggles from the limitations of individual unions who single-handedly confront tough bargaining corporations, by calling for a united campaign.

The Canadian labor movement faces a turning point in its struggle to defend the standard of living of Canadian workers. Even the more substantial settlements that workers are winning on the picket lines quickly evaporate in the heat of spiraling inflation. Because inflation affects all workers, all workers must unite in the struggle for cost of living allowances. Only this will allow working people to insulate themselves from the ravages of inflation. Only this can lay the basis for workers to begin improving their standard of living.

Morgentaler confronts Supreme Court showdown

by the Editors

On October 2nd, Henry Morgentaler will appear before the highest judicial body in Canada to hear his fate.

Dr. Morgentaler's case has a long history. Though-acquitted by a jury of his peers after being charged under Canada's anti-abortion laws, the decision was reversed by the Quebec Court of Appeal in a move which appeared to many to be an affront to the jury system. "This law does not require respect, it demands obedience," the trial judge stated angrily before sentencing Morgentaler to one and a half years in jail.

The appeal from this decision, to be heard by the Supreme Court of Canada, takes place at a time when Otto Lang, Canada's "Justice" Minister, has called for a law to make hospitals liable for "failure to exercise responsibility" in approving abortion actions too freely.

Lang's sabre-rattling has already given the green light to the arbitrary dictates of individual hospital doctors or boards. The Women's College Hospital family planning clinic in downtown Toronto has performed only two abortions since July 1st. Even the number of abortions for patients admitted on a private doctor-patient basis has declined by 33 percent. In Niagara Falls, the Niagara General Hospital's board of governors has cracked down on its therapeutic abortion committee and imposed restrictions on gynecologist Ken Walker, a local doctor who upholds the right of

continued on page 2

tawa lets eggs rot hile world is starving

.. Schreibmann

spite of the fact that more and
e people around the world are
ng food a luxury commodity, a
ermind of double think has led
ederal government's Canadian
Marketing Agency (CEMA) to
over 28 million eggs allowed
t, as "surplus".
MA which buys up surplus eggs'
producers to maintain price
seems to have achieved its
se as increases in egg prices,
ng from three to eight cents per
, were announced by retailers
e September.
cording to the Consumer's
iation of Canada (CAC) the
beneficiaries of this policy
to be the feed companies who
ol much of the egg production.
press release dated September
CAC noted that the feed
anies "are apparently able to
se feed prices and thus the
f eggs to the consumer at will.
is is producing a justified sense
trage among Canadian con-
rs."
ryon Brechin, CAC's past
dent and its Marketing Board's
sperson, claimed that the total
ten eggs "will be closer to 35
n — if we ever get the full
" She said that the big
iciaries of CEMA's high-price
es have been feed companies
natcheries, not farmers, and
more than half of all egg-producing farms are effectively controlled by the companies, not the farmers who nominally operate them.

By raising the prices of the feed and chicks they sell to their captive-market farms, the big companies got the extra money consumers paid for eggs.

Brechin said that if "agribusiness" got together to set higher prices for its products, it could be prosecuted under the Combines Act. But by having the egg producers they control set higher prices legally through a marketing board, the companies get the same profitable result without the risk of prosecution.

The public outcry against this profit-gouging scandal has resulted in Consumer Affairs Minister Andre Ouellet making public statements of criticism of both CEMA and Agriculture Minister Eugene Whelan. But Whelan explained the scandal in the following terms: "It was probably poor market projection but that happens in most industries at one time or another and with far greater consequences for the taxpayer."

When other industries misjudge a market and cut back production, the Canadian public is forced to take a share of the responsibility through unemployment insurance payments, he said.

"But there is no government

continued on page 2

in this issue read:
NDP left manifesto p6
Branch plant imperialism p4
US profs at U of T p5

CIA overthrow of Allende government – was Canadian ambassador complicit?

(From Forward, October 1974)

By Alice Klein

The real role of the US in provoking the infamous coup in Chile has now been exposed. Recent revelations have shown that the US, financed the subversion of Allende's government to the tune of eight million dollars — cash which represented up to $40 million worth of buying power through exchange on Chile's black market. These revelations which we can assume are still incomplete, include bribery of opposition party deputies, subsidies to the right-wing media and the financing of strike activity. More than half of the $8 million was used to provide support for such strikes as the nation-wide truck owners strike which, lasting 26 days, paralyzed Chile's economy and provoked a series of crises for the Allende government.

Ford's response continues in the tradition of the lying cynicism and, criminal arrogance of his presidential predecessors. As one of Ford's friends remarked to newsmen, "If it was good enough for Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon, then it's good enough for Ford."

Ford's statements, confirming that the CIA had carried out covert operations in Chile, suggested that it happened "three or four years ago" and that it was merely an attempt to "assist the preservation of opposition, newspapers and electronic media and to preserve opposition political parties."

But Ford was lying. CIA involvement occurred right up to and probably during the coup. Moreover, the Allende government never did as Ford charged, "destroy opposition news media . . . and opposition political parties." These continued to function without interference throughout the AIlende regime.

Since the coup, however, as the *(Toronto) Star* reports, "Pinochet is presiding over a situation of violence, terror, hunger and degradation more piteous than anything brought about in the most chaotic moments of the Allende administration."

Yet this coup which murdered 30,000 Chileans and has jailed and tortured thousands more, all made possible with the cold, hard cash of the ClA's "destabilization policy", is in the considered opinion of Gerald Ford "in the best interests of the people of Chile and certainly in our best interests."

The brutality of this comment was only equaled by that of Henry Kissinger, whose image as the shining American knight of foreign policy emerged unscathed from Watergate. Try as Ford might to continue the coverup trail Kissinger's knightly armour has finally been pierced. He sums up the bloated disdain of the American rulers for democracy as follows; "I don't see why we need to stand by and watch a country go Communist due to the irresponsibility of its own people."

It is clear that the US ruling class' commitment to placing its own interests above those of the American people evidenced in the Watergate scandal, is one which knows no domestic bounds. Rather it is at the heart of US policy internationally, not only in Chile, not only in Vietnam, but wherever their multi-national corporations exist, wherever profits are to be made and people to be exploited. When Ford was queried as to whether the US would act similarly in Canada, he replied that they would act similarly anywhere in the world in defense of their so-called "national security".

These revelations give us good cause to wonder what information the Canadian government is withholding about its complicity with the barbaric policy of the US. All information that its presently available points to the fact that Canada's government has used every possible means at its disposal to aid in sabotaging the desires of the Chilean people.

In 1971, the Canadian government-owned Export Development Corporation (EDC) cut off all credit to Chile. Five months before the coup, the EDC refused credit for the sale of four million dollars worth of logging equipment. Yet, almost immediately after the coup, a five million dollar deal was made to export aircraft to Chile. Since the coup, the government has launched a special foreign aid program through the Canadian International Development Agency to grant $27,000 to Canadian companies willing to conduct "feasibility studies" on investing in Chile.

The secret telegrams sent by Canada's ambassador to Chile, Andrew Ross, to the External Affairs Department in Ottawa indicate a more than favorable attitude to the coup. Ross commented in one of these telegrams that "IN OVERTHROWING ALLENDE GOVERNMENT CHILES MILITARY AND POLICE HAVE ACCEPTED EXCEEDINGLY DIFFICULT AND PROBABLY THANKLESS TASK."

The Canadian ambassador's depiction of the perpetrators of one of the bloodiest coups in history as engaged in a noble endeavour can only indicate further complicity. Or are we to believe that this man who labels the murder and torture of the Pinochet regime "indelicate" was remiss in placing the services of the Canadian Embassy at the disposal of the CIA sabotaging effort?

We know that the Canadian Embassy turned refugees seeking asylum into the streets to be shot down — terming them squatters. We know that thousands seeking refuge in Canada were subjected to RCMP investigation and turned away. We know that the Canadian Government took a mere 18 days to recognize the junta. Trudeau's newly announced "left-wing foreign policy" of concern for humanitarian and moral questions rings hollow in the light of these facts.

We have a right to know the full truth. We have a right to demand that Andrew Ross, who aided Kissinger's dirty work while representing the Canadian people, be punished. A commission must be established with full power to investigate and make public all aspects of Canada's involvement in the military coup in Chile.

====START BOX ====

Important demonstrations took place in Quebec and across English-speaking Canada in solidarity with Chilean workers, Sept. 4-11. In Montreal, Fernand Daoust, secretary-general of the Quebec Federation of Labor and Michel Chartrand, president of the Montreal CNTU addressed a demonstration of 1,200. In Toronto, 500 came to a meeting chaired by NDP foreign affairs critic Andrew Brewin. In Regina, the district labor council endorsed the solidarity week and called on the Canadian government to revoke recognition of the dictatorship and refuse to supply it with goods.

=====END BOX =======

Chile one year later: hardship, torture and death

One year after the overthrow of the Unidad Popular government of Salvador Allende, the situation faced by the Chilean people continues to worsen.

The August 21 issue of *Chile Informativo Internacional,* published by the Comite de Solidaridad con la Lucha de los Pueblos Latinoamericanos (Committee of Solidarity with the Struggle of the Peoples of Latin America) in Argentina, printed a list of 500 persons executed in Chile since the coup. The committee introduced the list by writing:

"All were killed by beatings, indescribable tortures, or firing squads without ever having come to trial. Their deaths were invariably explained as the result of 'escape attempts' . . . .

"The deceased are some of the victims of the regime that took power September 11, 1973. We are recording here only facts documented by the press or that are known as the result of testimony of family members or political organizations of the resistance."

The list includes the name of MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria — Movement of the Revolutionary Left) leader Bautista Van Schowen, whose release had been demanded internationally by those defending Chilean political prisoners.

Even more widespread than the suffering caused the Chilean people by the political repression is hardship brought about by the continuing inflation. The Buenos Aires daily *La Opinion r*eported August 14 that official figures placed the cost of living increase for July alone at 11.4 percent. According to the most optimistic estimates, the rate of inflation in 1974 will hit 500 percent.

Even the August 13 devaluation of the escudo — the fifteenth up to now this year — to 970 per US$1 is not expected to improve the situation.

In face of these severe economic problems, the Chilean military has tightened its totalitarian grip. In late June, General Augusto Pinochet was made president for an

indefinite term. The junta also announced the formation of a new coordinated repressive apparatus, DINA (Direccion de Inteligencia Nacional — National Intelligence Office).

In early August the junta dropped the pretense that it intended eventually to hold elections. It ordered national voter-registration records to be burned.

"No political activity will be authorized in Chile for at least two years," *Le Monde* (August 15) quoted Pinochet as stating. "The Marxist parties will remain banned forever."

In answer to a question on the duration of military rule in the country, Pinochet responded, "I cannot say whether it will be one, five, or ten years; simply whatever time is required to complete our job. We are not ready for political freedom."

Even the Christian Democrats have been accused by Pinochet of being an "instrument of the international Marxism."

In view of the absence of any effective domestic resistance to the junta's policies, the role of international protest assumes special importance in deterring excesses.

The immediate outcry from Europe and America over the show- trial death sentences forced General Jose Berdechesky, commander of the Santiago air force garrison, on August 5 to reduce the sentences for Vergara, Carlos Lazo Frias, Colonel Ernesto Galaz Guzman, and Sergeant Belarmino Constanzo Verino to thirty-year prison terms.

In mid-August Pinochet announced that thirty military men would be severely punished "for having exceeded their authority" in torturing political prisoners, according to the August 15 *La Opinion.* At the same time, the general stated that the scheduled trial of members of Allende's administration would be open to the public and the press.

La Opinion reported: "Observers agreed yesterday in Santiago that the announcement by the chief of state is the fruit of international pressure demanding that the physical and mental well-being of those imprisoned for their ties with the constitutional regime of Salvador Allende be respected...."

At an August 16 press conference, Pinochet retreated further. He said that his regime was considering the possibility of commuting and reducing the sentences in an unspecified number of cases of prisoners condemned for "military offenses."

(Condensed from Intercontinental Press*, New York)*

Canada's branch plant imperialism

by Ross Dowson

(from Forward*, October 1974)*

Canada has what could be called a high profile in the world political arena, particularly when you consider its small population and limited economic weight in the world economy.

It has armed forces at many points across the globe, both as a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and as a heavy contributor to the United Nations Forces assigned to such explosive points as Cyprus, Egypt, Palestine, etc.

It recognized China in advance of the United States and maintained diplomatic relations with Cuba all during the State Department's blockade. It played an up-front role in the International Control Commission in Vietnam. It participates m the big international lending agencies such as the International American Development Bank and the World Bank. It maintains institutions like the Canadian International Development Agency which, with a budget of 600 million a year, sustains aid programs that some 980 Canadian students and technicians carry on across the Third World. And it supplies nuclear materials to impoverished India which obviously gave it the capacity to manufacture the nuclear bomb that was set off last month, and is now winding up similar arrangements with the venal South Korean government.

Canada has certainly come a long way since a few years back when Prime Minister Mackenzie King carried on the affairs of the foreign office from his jacket pocket.

The rise of Canada to such prominence, in consort with the great imperialist world powers, has caused some to see Canada as having become a leading imperialist power. This opinion is held, notwithstanding the fact that it would have come to pass in the epoch of world imperialist decay and while the Canadian economy itself has fallen under the domination of the super imperialist power — the United States of America.

Certainly Canada is imperialist. But is it one of the major colonial imperialist powers in the world — or is this prominent role in the world political arena not just a function of its capitalist imperialist character but above all its satellitic, its junior partner 'honest broker' relationship with the United States?

The first evidence that is usually presented to prove that Canada is a major imperialist power is the West Indies. As they did for the British before them the West Indies also served as an important area of primary accumulation of capital for the Canadian capitalist class. But an examination of Canadian capitalism's interests in the West Indies today serves not as evidence of the power of Canadian capital but its new and satellitic relations with US capitalism.

According to Kari Levitt's 1967 book *Canada—West Indies Economic Relations,* "Canada has more trading investment interests in the Caribbean than in any other part of the underdeveloped world ... In the field of banking, insurance and bauxite alumina production Canadian investment not only is significant but is the main portion of investment in each of these particular industries."

Levitt sets the figure of Canadian investment at 550 million or one-half billion dollars. She estimates that "Canadian" investment in bauxite and alumina extraction and processing is $310 million, concentrated in Jamaica and Guyana — the latter is in the process of being nationalized by the Guyanese government.
(...)

But the fact is that Alcan is Canadian in name only — it is a part of the giant US Mellon empire. Thus Canadian investment drops precipitously to 240 million dollars. According to Levitt, 100 million is in mortgages, government securities, loans and other assets held by banking and insurance companies, and another 100 million in hotels and similar enterprises which are a source of brutal exploitation of the West Indies peoples.
(...)

US imperialist interests are moving in. They account for 80 per cent of the direct investment that has taken place since the 1950's. Canada's trade with the West Indies has long been very small. However, West Indies imports increased by 71 per cent between 1956 and 1961 — with the increase largely coming from the US.
(...)

A decision by a US corporate giant to change its domicile from Toronto or Montreal, to Cleveland or San Francisco, can drastically change the amount that appears in the column labeled "Canadian Direct Investment Abroad." For instance, in its 1972 list of the 100 largest manufacturing, resource and utilities companies in *Canada Financial Post* reported that two that had previously been listed — disappeared. Both were US corporate giants — one having been in the top ten, the other in the top 70. When the Income Tax Act was revised on a basis unsatisfactory to them "they decided to shift their domicile from Canada."

During the 1954-1964 period when Canadian direct investment abroad more than doubled "there was an increase of only 61.8 per cent in direct investment abroad by those corporations and other investors resident in Canada which were themselves either independent or under the control of other Canadians." The big increase, as to be expected, was in the foreign holdings of the US corporate giants "resident in Canada." According to the government brochure, *Direct Investment Abroad by Canada,* "Direct investment by corporations and other investors resident in Canada but controlled from the U.S. increased by 217.5 per cent — from 425 million to 1,307 million dollars."

Significantly what is called Canadian direct investment abroad is by no means located in the colonial or semi-colonial world — on the contrary. It is concentrated in the most powerful imperialist nations and in those areas of their economy where they are highly efficient, Canadian investment is thus partnership, very junior partnership in the businesses of other imperialist powers.

Over 80 per cent is invested in the advanced capitalist countries – more than half of the total, some 54.3 per cent in the United States, 12.8 in the United Kingdom, 8.27 in Ireland, the European Economic Community and Europe, other than the UK and EEC, and 4.2 per cent in Australia.

Only 18.6 per cent of all direct investment abroad by Canada, or less than $750 million, is invested in the colonial or semi-colonial world. Between 1947 and 1967 Canadian investment in the US actually increased five-fold — with about 64 per cent in manufacturing and merchandizing — but again that is capital that is designated as "resident in Canada."

Referring to such companies as Ford Motor Co. of Canada Ltd., Falconbridge Nickel Mines Limited, Alcan, which are often named in studies of the imperialist exploitation of South Africa, the well-known government sponsored *Gray Report* states "in some instances their Canadian identity becomes nominal, e.g. Inco and Massey Ferguson." It further asks; "for example are Alcan and Seagrams really Canadian controlled?" Ford Motor Company of Canada with its completely owned subsidiary, Ford Motor Company of South Africa, which heads the list of Canada's largest firms, is also listed as being 88 per cent owned by Ford Motor Co. of Dearborn, Michigan.

In reality the Gray Report's questioning as to the Canadian identity of Inco and Massey Ferguson, and the Canadian control of Alcan and Seagrams, which is to name only a few, flows from the integration of the Canadian economy with that of the United States under the hegemony of United States capitalism.

What then does Canadian imperialism amount to as an extension abroad of the interests of private Canadian capital, and their Canadian national state?
(...)
Canada is imperialist by the fact that, with an advanced capitalist economy it is an integral part of the world-wide imperialist economic system. But above all Canada is imperialist, not as an economic power but from its *de jure (legal)* existence as an independent nation state, from a political point of view — as a "free" associate member of the US dominated imperialist military alliances — NATO-NORAD. Ironically Canada plays out its major imperialist role as a "middle power", as a power allegedly free of any taint of imperialism, as a "non-imperialist power."

As an imperialist power Canada is significant on/the world arena insofar as it is integrated with the US — insofar as its economic holdings and interests are interlocked and find expression in harmony with those of the U.S. imperialist colossus. Its intermediary, "honest broker" role between the imperialist powers, its stooge role, primarily for US imperialism, is an accurate reflection of its real position as a capitalist power.

The character of Canadian capitalism as an imperialist "power", the locale and nature of its investments abroad, the fact that it is only a world power as a front or a very junior partner of the world's super-imperialist power, U.S. capitalism, is due not only to

Canada's relative weakness in relation to the US colossus (this inferiority it shares to a varying degree with all the capitalist powers). It is determined above all by the facts of U.S. capitalism's domination of Canadian capitalism, within the borders of Canada itself.

======*box* ====

New US investment in Canada

(A US Commerce Department projection (…) **projected increase in the manufacturing sector, already over 60 percent foreign (largely US) owned, was to be the largest at 21 percent. This increase and the 17 percent increase in petroleum and coal products, already 99.7 percent foreign (largely US) owned was to be offset by a projected 23 percent decline in investment in mining (68 percent US owned).** (…)

The latest estimates, according to a June-July survey by McGraw Hill of companies that account for about 50 percent of all capital investment, now place new investment in Canada at almost 5 billion dollars. This survey projects a 32 percent expansion by US manufacturing, petroleum and mining companies in their foreign investment this year to a total of 21.6 billion dollars.

(...)

A Washington dispatch recently released a 135-page report (…) **It noted the dependence of the US economy on Canadian iron, asbestos, nickel, aluminum and other vital minerals, recognizing that Canada is the "most important source of industrial raw material for the US " and that the relationship of Canada's economy to the US is such that it "enhances the US security of supply." It also made the observation that "in recent years Canadian public opinion has come to favour greater national determination of economic behaviour and a movement away from 'continentalism' …"**

====*end box* =====

forward #3 Oct 1974

U of T student reps quit

US profs hired

by Ellie Kirzner

The resignation of five students from the staffing committee of the Sociology Department of the University of Toronto has refueled the controversy about staffing and the nature of the social sciences in Canadian universities. The resignations, a protest against the hiring of eight non-Canadians, followed in the wake of the rejection of 30 to 40 Canadian applicants. The department is now composed of 32 percent Canadians, 55 percent Americans and 4 percent British.

The fact that the issue exploded in one of the few departments where students participate on a parity basis with staff highlights the need for guidelines to determine the competence of applicants : it demonstrates that parity alone can't solve the much larger question of the integration of Canadian sociology with both U.S. personnel networks and U.S. imperialist values.

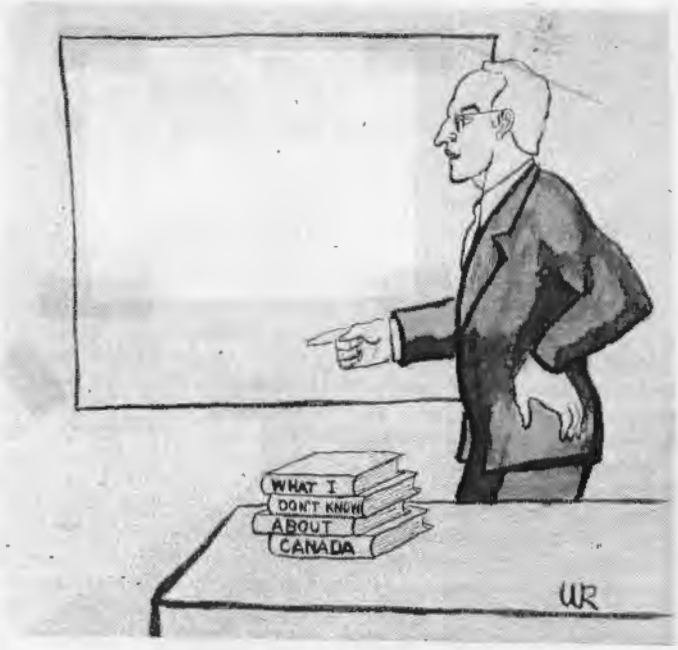
In sociology, especially, guidelines are necessary — for its concern with the relationships of human society renders it a sensitive discipline. It is in fact probably the most ideological of the social sciences — the most subject to the needs and demands of the state and the corporations, on the one hand, and, on the other, it is the most promising for the development of an interdisciplinary approach to the study of the real relationships in capitalist society and the movements of the oppressed to change them. This promise notwithstanding, sociology has increasingly become an instrument of the status quo — a search to discover ways of re-integrating the oppressed into a fundamentally unjust society.

The situation in Canadian university social science departments with regard to the lack of Canadian staff is generally explained by top administrators as stemming from the rapid expansion of universities in the 60's: this left a gap in qualified Canadian personnel, a gap which Americans were called upon to fill. Although the situation has often been described as temporary, the unemployment of Canadian Phds is growing and the U of T example demonstrates that the status of Canadian post-graduates is deteriorating.

A more profound explanation lies in the structural and ideological reasons for this discrimination. Unlike the experience of the US which revved up the social sciences for the Cold War, the Canadian economy's relative weakness necessitated a tight-fisted approach to post-secondary education. Compounding the problem were the US-centered multi-national corporations which used their researchers at home instead of in their subsidiaries in Canada.

As American capitalism and its cult of rationalization have come to dominate Canada, the Canadian social sciences in their traditional form have been transformed. The historical and interdisciplinary approach of Canadian scholars like Harold Innis and S.D. Clark has receded, not having the same use value for government agencies and big business as American sociology which has perfected itself as a tool of social control. Now that the economies on both sides of the border are integrated, Canada's ruling institutions have absorbed this concept of the social sciences, and American techniques are as common as Time magazine.

So widespread is the notion that sociology is inherently American that the Vice-Provost of the U of T, in answer to the resignation of the sociology students, declared sociology as taught in universities to be a "relatively new discipline conceived in the US" — a strange distortion of sociology's true origins in the confused but brilliant mind of August Comte in the France of the 1800's.



The issue therefore centres neither on the citizenship of individual professors, nor the establishment of an "international" centre of scholars — a euphemism used by the conservative wing when it really means continental sociology on the American model. As S.D. Clark put it: "In claiming to teach a sociology that knows no national boundaries, what really is being taught is American sociology." That the issue is not really an internationalist sociology versus a parochial Canadian one can be seen by the reluctance of the "internationalist" mainstream social scientists to hire European Marxists or endangered Chilean scholars. Some sections of the left too, playing on an internationalism that is an abstraction, fall into the clutches of continentalism à la American imperialism by refusing to recognize that a Canadian issue exists in the social sciences.

In arriving at guidelines for hiring, three central problems emerge. First, is the obvious fact that the cutbacks in education are threatening the job possibilities of Canadian Phds who have invested many years in preparation for teaching at great cost to themselves and to the Canadian taxpayer.

At the very outset, all

→p 2

p.2

Canadian Phds must be found jobs in their area of expertise, certainly the right of all working Canadians, whatever their trade. The expansion of the educational budget, the very minimum for justice to Canada's working people who have been denied access to university would satisfy the job demands of Phds and present the possibility of the development of real international departments as well.

Secondly, Canadian students have a right to professors who are knowledgable about the Canadian social system. Prevalent in American sociology is the definition of American society as the model of a mature stable industrial democracy, a conceptualization which, while it has no merit for explaining that society, imposes on Canada a set of assumptions that wreak havoc on any attempt to understand Canada's social relations. For example, the norms for the study of class consciousness in America, with a two party political system, are irrelevant in Canada where the growth and development of a labor party creates a whole new texture to the understanding of class relations. In addition, the American study of race and ethnic relations, based on black ghetto communities, may flourish with insights for Canadian ethnic study, but the struggle of the blacks and that of the Quebecois are sociologically different.

Thirdly, the guidelines for hiring have to be transformed from their present criteria -- ivy league connections and numbers of books and monographs published. Within sociology there is a core which seeks to transform the apologetics of bourgeois sociology into the critical study of the character of capitalist society. While in the long run it will probably be found impossible to reform this discipline, whose origins were conservative and whose development grew counter to Marxism, still the efforts of critical sociologists have begun the long awaited debate. Such an effort was initiated in the U of T department in a statement entitled **Towards a Critical Canadian Sociology** signed, among others, by some of the five who resigned from the selection committee. The statement concludes: "If there is to be a true Canadian sociology it will have to be critical; if it is critical, it must be an anti-imperialist sociology."

The issue of Canadian staff and studies is a confusing one, not least because of the bizarre alliances it generates. While the "internationalists" find common ground with the free-marketplace liberals, it might also appear that the anti-imperialists share a vision with the Toronto **Star**. This however is not as it seems, for what irrevocably divides them is the question of class. The **Star** last year commented this way on the issue: "Canadian universities by their very functions of research, of sparking new thought and of training tomorrow's elite, are important influences on Canada's future. So it is essential that a Canadian outlook should underlie their study of Canada and other societies."

Contrary to the fantasies of the **Star**, the majority of students, far from entering the elite, join the ranks of the working class. And in violation of the **Star**'s wishes and desires, understanding the specifics of Canadian society, its class structure and economic institutions, will be grist to the mill of the working class and its allies in its struggles for socialism.

forward #3 Oct 1974

'Accountability' key at BC NDP Convention

by Wayne Roberts

With a provincial government leadership intent on 'beating the drum' and reminding themselves that they are 'politicans', and with a provincial NDP executive intent on asserting the duty of the government to be accountable to the party on whose platform they were elected, the elements were there for a tense convention as the BC NDP met in September.

Barrett opened the convention with his conviction that publicity is the salvation of the government's sagging relation with the working people. "Have a coffee with your Socred neighbours. Put some sugar in and tell them the story", he told the convention. He did not, however, discuss publicity in terms of defending party policy against the attacks of big business through the creation of a mass labor press.

But this convention did not gather to sip coffee. Although there was no effective overall caucus embracing all socialist-oriented dissidents, important constitutencies were eager to air their opposition to the violations of party principles and policy that tarnish the government record.

The BC Federation of Labor scored the use of the Essential Services Act against the firemen. The well-organized women's liberation forces carried their nine-page resolution attacking the government for failure to implement party and socialist policy.

The party executive endorsed a motion censuring the government leadership which was defeated despite a substantial 202 votes against 368. The executive's major call was for government accountability. "The members must feel they have a significant role to play in framing, implementing and defending the party policy and the legislation introduced by the government on the basis of that policy", their statement said.

Agriculture Minister Stupich responded for the government, calling for rejection of this motion. We must "share the load, comrades, and vote against the report." But more is involved than sharing the load. The Liberal **Vancouver Sun** felt compelled to coach the convention on the key difference between what they call socialist theorists and socialist managers. Citing noted reactionary Edmund Burke, they asserted that the government owed its allegiance not to the party and platform on which they were elected but to individual conscience and to "all the people", mainly the people who did not vote NDP. (How interesting if capitalist parties had such a limited mandate!)

From his view, defeated presidential candidate Allan Artibese pointed out what was involved. "The Government can move in the direction of socialism by drawing upon the resources of the party to organize mass support behind our socialist program.

"Or it can attempt to rest on its welfare state measures, engage in public relations campaigns to persuade a passive and unconvinced electorate, and treat those in the party who raise accountability to our socialist program as enemies."

The leadership was apparently well prepared for the confrontation. They even arranged for former national leader Lewis to bait the opposition. "We should ... be governed by the knowledge that division and rancour in our own ranks merely feed the corporate establishment and its apologists — both conscious and unconscious", he charged, in a comment which threatens all internal discussion.

The left forces were not as well organized. The statement "Turn Towards Socialism" prepared by forces around the outgoing executive was not widely circulated. A "Party Democracy Caucus" emerged to give some coordination to militants' aspirations but failed to jell as a consolidated left caucus.

For all its drawbacks the NDP government in BC represents a great stride forward for working people. But for working people to win the fruits of this victory, a sustained fight for leadership of the ranks of the party is shaping up as the major task.

forward #3 Oct 1974

Undercurrents at Sudbury

Ontario NDP Meets

by Wayne Roberts

It was billed by the press as a quiet convention, as one where, if socialism marches on, "it is marching in moccasins to whispered commands". It was touted by the NDP leadership as the triumph of moderation in what Stephen Lewis called "the total absence of acrimony", except perhaps for what he referred to as "the new, old revitalized remoderated left, I presume". The September convention of the NDP in Sudbury, representing 23,000 Ontario members, nevertheless displayed continued vitality in the ranks of Canada's labor party.

Almost every advance in the struggle of working people and in the general radicalization of the population found expression at the convention. A featured discussion dealt with the new developments in the union movement, detailing the fight against compulsory arbitration by Ontario civil servants, public, high school and community college teachers and TTC workers. The prominent presence of grapeworker activists and Sudbury's Silverman strikers, along with tours of Inco advertised as "guaranteed to make anyone a socialist" highlighted the deepening working class roots of the party.

Issues generated by the women's liberation movement also found expression in the emergency resolutions in support of Dr. Henry Morgentaler, in the emergency resolution opposing the new Birch proposals in daycare and in the discussion on the law 'reforms' proposed by the government. Although there was a brief, losing battle on the part of organized feminists to have the daycare resolution referred to a viable women's committee instead of the Provincial Council of the party, there was no disgareement at all on the substance of the issue itself — rejection of the Birch proposals.

Both sides of the party spectrum pushed for referral of an energy resolution which failed to adequately come to grips with the necessity of public ownership. Keynote speeches of both Stephen and David Lewis resounded with militancy. Although their authority was virtually unchallenged, they had to respond by encompassing the radical sentiments of the rank and file. Indeed Lewis was jarred at the spontaneous applause that greeted his comments on the failure of this society of plenty to meet the needs of people: "It's crazy. It's . . . capitalism" (These comments were not in the prepared speech).

At the same time the left of the party is obviously still recovering from the wounds of the Waffle experience. a recovery which is not aided by the fact that over the past two years virtually every radical socialist tendency in the province has taken a hostile and sectarian attitude toward the NDP.

Nevertheless the beginnings of a left did emerge in the convention, around the document reprinted in this issue of **Forward**. The moving forces behind this document come from a wide variety of experiences in the party. Some are MPP's, some are executive members and some are veteran rank and file activists.

Following some informal meetings this group distributed its document in the Saturday afternoon of the convention and appeared surprised at the widespread and positive response to their searching and fundamental criticisms of the party. Following a rebuke from Stephen Lewis, a group of the original signers issued a second statement, retreating somewhat from the spirit of the original document and clarified that their criticisms were not aimed at the leadership and that they only wished to initiate a discussion. At present their hopes are that the document will be reprinted in the Ontario **New Democrat** and that riding associations will begin discussions of it.

It is still too early to predict the course of this grouping within the party. It is clear however that it reveals the vitality in the provincial party and that hopes for a mass based left within the party are coming closer to reality.

forward #3 Oct 1974

For a radical, revitalized New

This document, produced and circulated by leading activists and representatives of the NDP at the Sudbury convention, is intended as a contribution to a discussion which the Ontario NDP sorely needs.

As a result of the positive response it received, additional signers have already brought the list of endorsers to over fifty. It is hoped by the signers that the document will be discussed and responded to by riding associations across the province.

As an informational service to our readers, we are reprinting this document in its entirety.

We, the undersigned members of the New Democratic Party, are deeply troubled about our party; its direction, its low morale, its apparent inability to persuade and excite people.

We have just witnessed in the past Federal election a decrease in our popular vote, and worse, an erosion of our vote in some working class areas. We call these *defeats.*

We reject the explanation that our recent electoral defeats were failures of technique or due to shortages of funds. We have examples to disprove such explanations. These are only a few: Spadina and St. Paul's had far more funds and paid workers this time, but our vote plunged. Trinity had virtually no money or organization: the vote decreased, but no more than it did in ridings with well-financed and — organized campaigns. York South's campaign could hardly have been improved on in terms of organization, literature, numbers of workers and signs, and we all know the sad result.

We know that it isn't a satisfactory answer to say that large numbers of people were so unnerved by minority government and so frightened by the threat of a wage and price freeze that they decided to play it safe and change their votes from N.D.P. to the presumed majority party. For one thing, no one has done the sort of in-depth analysis that would show this was so. But even if it were the case, wouldn't it prove that we had failed miserably to give the voters positive reasons for voting N.D.P.?

We fear, however, that easy answers will be found and accepted for our electoral defeats, that many members will shrug them off as mere "set backs" or the result of dirty tricks by the opposition or black outs by the press. *And if that happens we'll continue to make the same mistakes:* trying to win with catchy slogans, spending money we don't have, concentrating on the issue the press and opposition are pushing, and relying heavily on election campaigns to gain ground.

Suppose we were to win large numbers of seats through the use of catchy slogans, great sums of money, brilliant organization, lawn signs for every positive voter. Would it mean that we could govern? *Winning that way might really amount to losing — losing whatever integrity and principles we have.*

There is clearly a difference between government and power. To have power — to govern effectively — we must have a "mass base." We must persuade large numbers of people of what we stand for, and we must be *sure* of what we stand for. Otherwise, we may form a government without power. We have seen examples of such governments. The Barrett Government had to dilute their Land Commission Act because the majority was not behind it, knew nothing about it beforehand, and therefore allowed big business to stampede public opinion against it. To give an extreme example, Allende was murdered, his government overthrown. *The mass base must be established before an election; after may be too late.*

Persuading people to *vote* N.D.P. IS important, but it is not enough. Persuading people to *be* New Democrats is a lot tougher. And it is not the same kind of job the opposition is faced with. Liberals and Conservatives can gain or maintain power by hustling votes: most people already know of or are at least prepared to tolerate any legislative programmes these parties want to introduce. *But we in the N.D.P. have endorsed policies that would entail basic changes in the organization of society.* Do we still intend to bring about such changes? Are we still radical? If so, it will not be possible to sneak up on several million people! We must confront Ontarians with a socialist alternative, encourage debate and understanding of our policies.

Where are we going wrong? *Are we failing to get through to the voters? Or are we getting through to them and then being rejected?*

We think *both* answers are partly correct. Often we don't get through to the voters. Let's stop hoping that the public media will come around to helping us. The day the media favours us will be the day we've either had the revolution or have sold out. Sometimes we do get through to the voters — but too often what we get through to them with is so incomplete, so moderate or watered down that it can scarcely seem a compelling alternative.

The following is an outline of some problem areas about which discussion would be helpful. It is not intended to be comprehensive; the authors are aware of numerous omissions. It is our hope that this paper might **begin** discussion leading to **a radical, revitalized New Democratic Party.**

1. **The tendency towards moderation, becoming at times the rallying cry of the Party.** Sometimes this tendency is heard as "seeking the middle ground," sometimes as "aiming at the middle class vote" or at everyone. But the "middle ground" is something we arrive at after debate and action, after discarding various alternatives — not something to be aimed at. And trying to gain the middle class vote is fine — *as long as we are trying to gain it with a socialist programme.* Unfortunately, that's not what we see happening.

Where we have tough, radical

→p.2

Democratic Party

p.2

policies, shouldn't we unveil them now? And where we haven't, isn't it time we did? It's not very honest, and it's not even good strategy to wait till we've "won" office. The old-line parties have usurped the field when it comes to moderation. In fact, our Party is often in danger of their outflanking us on the left! The Canadian electorate plainly does not *need* another moderate party. Does it need a strong left? We think so, but the only way to know for sure is to try. At the least, we haven't much to lose: we're standing still now.

2. **The alteration by small elected groups within the Party of policy decided at convention.**

   For instance, the last Federal Convention said categorically "NO" to the MacKenzie Valley Pipeline — not "if" as was stated during the last Federal campaign.

   Do elected groups within the Party not trust the membership? And if not, *is it because the membership doesn't deserve to be trusted, doesn't mean or understand what it says?*

   We realize that we can't muzzle those we elect and we recognize that new situations arise for which we have no precise policies but which must be dealt with. We therefore think the solution, if any, lies in being far more careful in choosing members of committees and candidates for public office: they must, above all, be people whom we trust and who trust us. The same people should not be elected time and again to committees and offices until they are regarded and regard themselves as permanent office-holders and indispensable. More members should be given (and take) the opportunity and responsibility of holding elected office within the Party. Also, there should be more communication — dialogue — among us between conventions.

3. **The eagerness of many Party members to seek out "stars" to run as candidates** — that is, people with "a name" who may attract publicity in the capitalist press, and whether or not they have a long-term commitment to the N.D.P. (or socialism) or any known commitment at all.

   By definition, such people cannot represent us — or anyone — and we have no basis for trusting them. We think that the choice of "star" candidates is symptomatic — of a *cop-out* from the hard work of persuading the public, on a one-to-one basis, of the value of our policies.

   If we have riding associations which aren't well enough organized that they can themselves produce sound, reliable candidates with roots in those ridings, should we seriously consider not running candidates there at the present time — and instead get busy helping those riding associations to develop?

4. **The fact that the greatest activity of this Party revolves around election campaigns.**

   Most of our energy, talent and money is directed towards election campaigns. Many of our members and supporters are completely inactive except at election time. If elections continue to be the culmination of our efforts, we must consider ourselves failures!

5. **Feelings of alienation by many women in the Party.**

   We think that this is in part due to a lack of understanding of the *historical* causes of women's unequal status and oppression under capitalism. We note too, though, that the behaviour and attitudes of many male Party members are not consistent with the declared philosophy of the New Democratic Party.

   That we, with our ringing phrases about equality and an end to exploitation, appeal to fewer women voters than men is a fact

→p.3

deserving analysis.

. **Our lack of appeal to working class people, including trade unionists.**
Our problem is *not* that we are dominated by trade unionists! Instead, either our interests are not coinciding or we are not communicating. A socialist programme does not *seem* to appeal to trade union spokesmen, but it is our contention that trade unionists, like almost all workers, *would respond in time to a clear, thorough socialist programme.*

. **The apparent growth of bureaucracy within our Party.**
It doesn't win more votes. It doesn't — despite the energy expended in clever campaigns and unusual prizes — gain more members. Nor educate. Nor result in better policy. Nor encourage rank-and-file members to run as candidates. Nor lighten the work-load of active members. Nor result in better organization in those ridings which most need assistance. But it sure costs money! In what way is it worth it?

. **The chief roles of the leader and president as house leader and administrator respectively.**
The work of our leader in the House is frequently given no publicity outside the House. In any event, the real action is mostly *outside* the House.
Couldn't others take over some of the responsibilities of the leader and president? We have plenty of talent in this Party, inside and outside the House.
We suggest that both our leader and president, who must be among our most articulate spokesmen, spend a greater share of their time in the ridings, with rank-and-file members, local media, citizens' groups.

The fact that many people today enter, leave, re-enter, quit, our Party.
We wonder if our Party has the honesty and integrity it once had. We believe that it used to require a major decision to join — a decision about, for example, the nature of capitalism, the need for social welfare measures, the possibility of spreading responsibility for government and decision-making among greater numbers of people, the value of economic planning, the limits of freedom. We admit that we may be merely nostalgic bnt in any event, we'd like to see a party that requires a major decision before joining.

10. **The lack of political discussion and analysis within this Party.**
When is the last time you went to a constituency meeting where you heard discussion of politics, political issues, political philosophy — as opposed to organizational debate or speeches? Is it correct to assume that because members' hearts are in the right places that we can gloss over the substance of politics and deal almost exclusively with organization and finances? In many ridings the only time there is any political discussion is when convention resolutions are voted on. (And why so many resolutions which repeat or contradict existing Party policy?) What about the basic questions, such as the following:
What is social democracy or democratic socialism? Are either of these something different from socialism? Do we have a philosophy that holds our policies together? If so, is our philosophy one no other party or organization can provide?
Does "selective intervention" in the economy make any sense? Capital is mobile and can, presumably, flee from the economic sectors intervened in. Should we be talking about a *planned economy* instead?
What is the value of public ownership if the workers in publicly owned industries have no direct say in their operation?

We see too often the tragedy of old members — some from C.C.F. days — losing faith, and of new members losing patience. And *not* primarily because of electoral defeats, but because of the direction our Party is going in and its apparent silence between elections.

If the New Democratic Party continues its drift towards mnderation *at elections and conventions* — which has the effect of confusing us with liberals — we shall disintegrate.

We believe that there is now a vacuum in Canadian politics, that this vacuum is nn the left. The New Democratic Party can still fill that space, *if we act now.*

In signing this document we make no claim to having all the answers to problems besetting the Party. We call on all New Democrats to engage in a process of self-examination with a view to making our Party the powerful force it should be in Ontario politics. We consider it vital that the N.D.P. engage many more thousands of people in the political process — in the unions, in the work places, in our communities.

Let us be clear. We regard the New Democratic Party as still the only legitimate political expression of the economic and social aspirations of Canada's working people. It is our wish to make it an effective one. We respect the constitution of the Party and the rights of all other members; we do not challenge the leadership or wish to constitute ourselves as an organized caucus. What we want is that serious New Democrats join us in debating serious problems in a serious way.

To this end we invite you to take this paper to your riding association for discussion.

We intend to publish this paper or another along these lines in the New Democrat.

If you have any comments or ideas on where we might go from here, or if you wish to add your name to ours, write to Mary Boyce, 60 Tranby Ave., Toronto.

forward
#3 Oct 1974

Reform Alliance continues campaign Protests grow for quality daycare

By Pat Schultz

Four hundred and fifty day care parents and staff marched September 14th from Queen's Park to Nathan Phillips Square in opposition to the Ontario government's proposals to reduce the quality of day care. For many participants it was their first demonstration and they found the size, the feelings of solidarity, the chants and speeches exhilarating. Many brought their own signs, buttons were sold, free lemonade and apples were given to the many children on the march and the chants "Good Day Care and Lots of It" and "Children Should Come First, The Government Puts Them Last; Our Children are the Future, the Government's in the Past" resounded down Yonge Street. Parents and staff were there from the Walpole Island Indian Reserve, Sarnia, Ottawa, Oshawa, Peterboro and London.

Provincial leader of the NDP Stephen Lewis spoke, stressing once again the women's liberation aspect of the day care issue. Marg Campbell spoke for the Liberals. Two alderwomen spoke at City Hall while spokeswomen Julie Mathien and Anna Fraser of the Day Care Reform Action Alliance (DCRAA), who had organized the protest, talked about their personal experiences with day care and emphasized the need for an ongoing campaign.

The DCRAA, a loose organization of day care users and workers, decided on the demonstrations at a meeting of 400 persons at the Faculty of Education on September 5. There, a delegation which had met with Mrs. Birch reported that three months of almost unanimous opposition by the day care community to the proposed changes in child care regulations had not changed the Conservative government's position by one iota. In the meantime none of the $15 million used to dress up the proposal is available and badly needed centres cannot open for lack of funds.

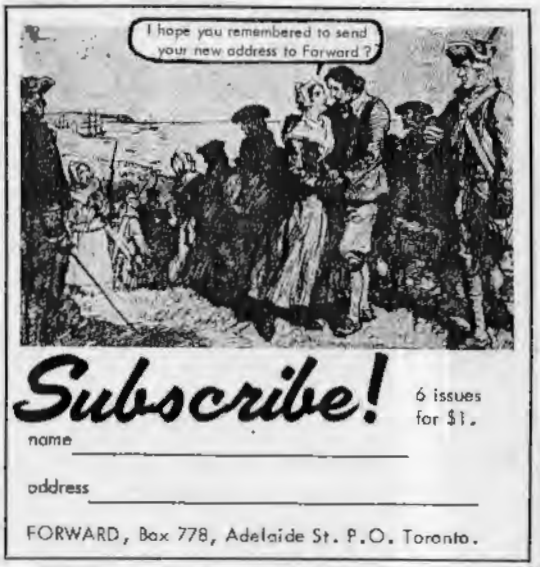
One of the groups that participated in the march was the Mother-Led Union. This organization illustrates the growing opposition among women to bearing the total responsibility for children with abysmally inadequate assistance from the government. It is demanding that mothers on Mothers Allowance receive the same amount of money for each child as foster parents. Currently an infant under one year cared for by its natural mother is allowed less than one third the allowance of a child looked after by foster parents who receive in addition a clothing allowance for the child. The group plans to demonstrate and leave their children at Queen's Park if the government fails to remedy these inequities. They joined the day care demonstration because they also believe that day care is valuable for children and mothers whether or not the mother is working.

Meanwhile, in Winnipeg, a mother unable to find day care which would qualify her for a government subsidy, and unable to pay the cost of a babysitter, left her children at the Manitoba legislature. The government quickly found itself able to give her financial assistance.

All of these incidents illustrate both the broad nature of the problem and the growing determination of women to solve it. The Day Care Reform Action Alliance, exhilarated by the response its activities have received, is now planning an ongoing campaign. Petitioning at shopping plazas, addressing meetings of unions and other organizations with a videotape and speakers, a province-wide Day Care Day at which local groups across the province will demonstrate and petition, are among some of its projects.

The fact that its brief to the Ontario government stated its aims to be access to quality day care for all Ontario children indicates that the movement is going beyond fighting the Birch proposals.

A long hard battle is shaping up.



Subscribe! 6 issues for $1.

name _____

address _____

FORWARD, Box 778, Adelaide St. P.O. Toronto.

forward #3 Oct 1974

GAY HUMAN RIGHTS ARE NOT PROTECTED

By J. Jennings

Several incidents this summer drove home to me the fact that the "consenting adult" legislation of the Trudeau government in 1969 — the legislation that was introduced with great fanfare as keeping the government out of the bedrooms of the nation — hardly scratches the surface of the problem. This legislation has helped spread an illusion that gays (homosexuals) are no longer subject to legal harassment. The comfortable illusion that the only discrimination they will now run into is when they encounter the prejudices of backward heterosexuals and narrow minded cops.

The bitter truth of the situation that gay people suffer is shown by a recent case in the courts. A mother in Saskatoon lost the custody of her two children on the grounds that her gayness rendered her an unfit parent. Last December she had obtained a divorce and was granted custody of both her nine-year-old daughter and her three-year-old son. The divorce followed a separation during which she had established a household with her children and a woman companion. The ex-husband appealed the custody decision on the ground that a lesbian is not a fit person to raise children.

Besides taking court action, the former husband illegally took custody of the daughter by picking her up from school one day and refusing to return her to her mother. Despite the fact that the woman was the legal guardian of the children, the court which heard the case condoned this action by ruling that the man could retain custody of the daughter until the case was settled. The mother lost!

In the federal election the National Gay Election Caucus polled the various parties and many individual candidates concerning legislation to establish full civil rights for what they estimate to be two million gay citizens of this country.

Their ten-point questionnaire is not an abstract list of rhetorical moral demands. It is very concrete and deals with the reality of the legal oppression that gays suffer. They demand both the abolition of existing discriminatory legislation and positive enactment of legislation to recognize their sexual orientation as a human right under the bill of rights.

The necessity for such legislation was pinpointed recently by another incident, this time in Manitoba. A company in Steinbach, Derksen Printers Ltd., refused to print an educational booklet because it presented homosexuality favorably. The publication was produced by Project Understanding, an OFY-funded project. Derksen told the press "I don't have to print for those bastards and I don't have to explain why." Harvey Moats, executive secretary of the Manitoba Human Rights Commission confirmed that, had the printing job been rejected for reasons of religion, ethnic origin or race, this would be a violation of the province's Human Rights Act.

Just last month an American, who had visited Canada many times before, was deported from a Canadian border entry point because he admitted to being gay. He has been barred,without appeal, from any further entry into this country. The deportation order stated in part: "you are a member of the prohibited class of persons described in paragraph 5(e) of the Immigration Act in that you admit that you are a homosexual . . . ."

There is legal harassment and discrimination; there is also much prejudice. At best, some thinking has moved to that liberal consensus of giving them a break as long as it doesn't involve your own family. Much public opinion seems to have redefined homosexuality from a secret and degenerative vice to a mere crippling deformation that we can live with. This is not enough!

It is clear that we need a lot more than laws "to keep the government out of the bedrooms of the nation." We need laws to guarantee freedom of choice in sexual orientation. We need laws to fight discrimination against gays. There can be no civil rights for gays until their moral rights have been legislated — until their sexual preference has been legally recognized as being as equally acceptable as he[te]rosexuality. Then the struggle against predjudice can begin.

forward #3 OCT 1974

Toronto forum series underway

The Socialist Forum will hold a meeting on "Is Canada heading towards a Depression?" on Friday, October 4th.

It will be an analysis of the crisis presently shaking Canadian and world imperialist economies and the challenge facing the workers' movement to maintain living standards. Questions and a discussion period will follow the presentation. Refreshments will be served; admission is $1.

On November 1st, the Socialist Forum will present Ross Dowson, who will speak on the "Upsurge of Labor Struggles in Canada". It will include an evaluation of the convention of the Ontario Federation of Labor, to take place in Niagara Falls later this month.

The series will be held at the Community Centre of St. Paul's United on Avenue Rd. The entrance is on Webster, one block south of Davenport. The forums will start at 8 p.m.

As well, the Socialist League is presenting a series of three classes on "Problems of the Vanguard Party", to be held on alternate Friday evenings from October 11th. For information, please phone 363-6755.

Fund drive moves forward

The money is coming in. As we go to press with this issue we are at the halfway mark in our fund drive which ends Oct. 31st. Our $4,000 objective has produced an excellent response. At this point we are more than halfway there with $2,574 accounted for. We have received $1,800 in cash and $674 in solid pledges.

Several people have made pledges on a continuing monthly basis. One aircraft worker, at a plant where we distributed FORWARD, gave us $100 cash and pledged $35 a month. An Oshawa worker pledged even more.

People like FORWARD. The feedback is very encouraging. One new reader, with considerable experience of reading the left press, commented that she had never seen a working class paper at such a high level that was so readable. We don't think we have it made but that is what we are trying to do.

The focus of our attention is on the Canadian class struggle. We intend to express and integrate the developing aspirations of all the parts of the class struggle, all the radicalizing elements that must fuse to eliminate capitalism and build a socialist society. Our special emphasis is on the NDP — the voice of independent working class political action in this country. Our aim is to become a rallying point for leftward moving forces in the NDP

But to do our job we need to achieve our first modest objective of $4,000. One of the facts of political life is that the better we do our job, the more there will be to do! Let's make a good start by going over the top! Mail your contribution to FORWARD, Box 778, Adelaide Street Post Office, Toronto.

SOCIALIST FORUM

the upsurge in canadian labor struggles

WITH ROSS DOWSON, LONG-TIME SOCIALIST ACTIVIST AND LABOR WRITER

Faced with unprecedented inflation and a crisis of economic stagnation, the Ontario Federation of Labor was challenged with some of the most important issues confronting Canadian workers for some time. The immense proportions of this challenge and the necessity for the labor movement to project a strategy to defend the standard of living of Canadian workers and safeguard their jobs from the threat of possible unemployment have been key elements of the convention discussion. How did the convention measure up to these problems? What lies in store for working people? And what should they do?

These and other questions will ne discussed at the Socialist Forum.

DONVALE COMMUNITY CENTRE — 80 Winchester west off Parliament north of Carleton

FRIDAY NOVEMBER 8 — 8:00 P.M.

refreshments served after the discussion

For further information; call Socialist League 363-6755

2265 East Pender Street, Vancouver 6, B. C. 11 November 1974

To the organizer & and membership of the Vancouver branch of the League For Socialist Action:

We hereby res ign our membership in the League For Socialist Action/Ligue Socialis te Ouvriere.

We do so for two principal reasons: (1) the degeneration in internal methods of organization and operation, and (2) the change in line on the NDP.

(1) No real discussion of political questions takes place within the League, because questions, attempts at debate, and criticisms are immediately quashed by the leadership, which defines them all as inherently anti-leadership and thus by extension as anti-Bolshevik. The most minor question raised in a branch meeting results in an instant motion to refer to the executive; the matter is either never heard of again or, if the comrade involved has the temerity to raise the question once more, a barrage of negative comment from half a dozen leaders effectively silences her or him. The membership may choose either passive acceptance of everything presented to them by the leadership, or run the risk of being branded as enemies within the movement and being frozen out of participation in its activities.

The fraction and committee structure of the branch is inoperative. Meetings are not held on a regular basis but occur occasionally in an ad hoc or emergency fashion, and comrades involved in the NDP or in any aspect of the women's movement except Morgentaler work receive virtually no guidance or direction unless they plead for it. Work area reports are given to the branch with increasing rarity. Frequently, several weeks pass between an event in some area and its being reported on; and in some cases reports never appear, as with the federal election campaign this past summer when there was no report on the progress of the NDP campaign. Thus the only manner in which rank-and-file members may participate in decision-making is by voting for items presented by the leadership in branch meetings and conferences.

The way in which leadership decisions are presented for rubber-stamping by the branch reflects an increasingly blatant confidence that no discussion of them will take place. For example, at the October branch conference the slate for the incoming executive was simply presented to us on a piece of paper. The organizer said, in one sentence, that its composition reflected both continuity of leadership and the recognition of the political growth of newer comrades. Period. On the basis of this laconic motivation for the composition of the most important body in the branch, comrades were then expected to endorse it immediately and unanimously. In earlier days, a serious and lengthy motivation would have been presented, and comrades would have been expected to consider the slate in the same manner; in fact, it was customary for the slate to be presented to comrades a week before the conference, precisely so that they could have time to do this.

Lack of discussion, overt antagonism towards discussion, lack of rank-and-file participation in decision-making at any level, lack of guidance and direction, a contemptuous attitude towards the membership: all of these are now deeply-entrenched realities of the political operation of the LSA/LSO. They indicate the existence of a bureaucratic clique at the leadership level, a clique whose primary aim is its own maintenance and the maintenance of total control over all aspects of movement life.

Such a situation is a travesty of the norms set out in the Organizational Character document: "Only a self-acting and critically-minded membership is capable of forging and consolidating such a party and solving its problems of collective thought, discussion and experience. From this follows the need of assuring the widest party democracy in the ranks of the organization...The relationship of the leadership to the membership is not one of martinet or taskmaster--nor the membership to the leadership that of critic or goad--it is one of mutual respect, confidence and loyalty. The leadership is under the control of the membership, its policies always open to criticism, discussion and rectification, within properly established forms and limits, and the leading bodies themselves subject to formal recall and/or alteration. The membership has the right to demand and expect the greatest responsibility from the leaders precisely because of the position they occupy in the movement." Distortion or abandonment of these norms is now solidly accepted practice in the League, and in our view the process of degeneration has intensified and accelerated well past the point of no return.

(2) The change in line on the NDP, and the manner in which that change took place, provide the fullest and clearest possible demonstration of the internal degeneration of the League and its inevitable effect upon the LSA's external work.

One of the major contributions made by the League in earlier days to the development of the world Trotskyist movement was its analysis of and orientation to the labor party in Canada. The ultra-leftism of the British section and the deep-entryism of various European sections were avoided in Canada, where a truly mass-oriented and transitional approach to the phenomenon of the NDP was worked out and applied with notable success for a number of years. With the explosion of the youth radicalization around the globe in the 1960's, heavy ultra-left pressures were exerted upon the Fourth International, and these had a major effect upon its debates and internal relationships and political practice. Canada was not exempted. Sharp and unprincipled attacks upon the section's orientation to the NDP were made by leading figures in the International Majority, and a tendency reflecting the Majority's views developed within the Canadian section. It became clear that the question of the NDP, long recognized by the section as a crucial question for revolutionaries in Canada, was at issue once again.

The leadership did not respond. Although the RCT produced a number of lengthy documents on its views on the NDP, no line document containing a full and serious response was prepared to counter them. At the April 1973 convention, no full discussion on the NDP took place, although this issue underlay many other discussions. What did happen at the convention--although the significance of this event was not appreciated by many comrades until much later--was that the brief sections on the NDP in the Political Resolution made no reference at all to a whole complex of phrases, formulations

and slogans which the LSA had customarily used for years to embody its orientation to the NDP. On the way and in the way, labor party, strategic orientation, long-term non-split perspective--all these and more had vanished. With these omitted, and with the Political Resolution safely adopted by the convention, the leadership was at liberty to proceed with a more overt abandonment of the NDP orientation. The leadership had bent to the ultra-left pressures, and had begun the process of changing the line on the NDP behind the backs of the League membership.

Next came the Ministry affair. When the demand for a Ministry of Women's Rights emerged at the NDP convention in the fall of 1972, the League supported it; thessevere limitations of the demand were recognized, but its propagandistic value was also. By the early summer of 1973 the leadership had changed its mind. It was not, however, prepared to share with the membership its reasons for doing so. While an abortive "discussion" on the question was taking place in Vancouver--a discussion carefully restricted to selected groupings of comrades and carefully excluded from the NDP fraction and committee and of course the branch--requests were made to Centre for some guidelines to the discussion, some terms of reference. None were provided. In September the reason became clear. It developed that a decision on the question had been reached by the PC earlier in the summer, that a line article on the Ministry had been prepared for publication in the next issue of Labor Challenge, and that--on the occasion when the matter came before the branch for discussion for the very first time--the new line had to be adopted immediately because a major NDP women's conference, at which comrades would have to carry the new line, was going to take place in two days.

The Labor Challenge article--characteristically--made no mention of the fact that the League had once held a different position and was now on due consideration changing it; it simply denounced and attacked. Those comrades who criticized this approach, and pointed out its very obvious and adverse effects upon NDPers with whom they worked, were--characteristically--chided for bending to the pressures of reformism. The League--characteristically--laid the blame for the redbaiting binge which shortly erupted in the NDP women's committee solely and entirely on the leadership of that committee, and refused to considereven for an instant that its methods of operation might have been a factor in the case. Thus the Stevenson case developed. Although Cde Stevenson had resided in Vancouver for well over a year, she had never taken out membership in the NDP here; now, suddenly, at the height of a red-scare campaign against the League she did so, and the branch learned of this action of an open League spokesperson after the event. Her application was not surprisingly denied, and the need for a defense committee was posed. Comrades who asked questions about the rationale for all this were made out to be cowardly and deep-entry-oriented; comrades who could not see much solidity in the support gained by the defense committee received similar treatment, although these comrades were instrumental in several cases in winning endorsement for the campaign in NDP meetings.

With the turn of the year came new developments around the NDP line. Some leisurely weeks after the holding of a plenum, documentation from it appeared. Strangely, a two-part document on the NDP was issued in reverse

order--first an outline of our tasks in the NDP, and later an outline of our line on the NDP. Of course there had been much more to this plenum, but it took a long time for word to filter down to the membership of what had occurred. For many months previously, the former executive secretary of the League and the Labor Party Tendency as a whole has been pressing for a discussion on the NDP at the PC level. In spite of all the events both in the International and in the Trotskyist movement in Canada, in spite of the obvious changes in line and practice, and in spite of the--at least--puzzlement and confusion of many members, this discussion was denied on the grounds that it could not take place unless the "dissidents" codified their views; the leadership was aware of no problem which merited PC discussion. The writing of an extensive document posed problems at that time for Cde Dowson, since he was working 60 hours a week at a job involving heavy manual labour, but the document was finally finished and produced at the plenum. Needless to say it did not receive serious consideration, as the reprint of the remarks made by Cde Young on the occasion very clearly shows; personal attacks and insinuations were substituted for political argument. Shortly after this, the Labor Party Tendency split. One might have thought that the tragic loss of so large a number of experienced and long-standing cadre might have stirred the leadership to an examination of its course, and most particularly to a discussion of the political differences behind it. Such was not the case.

The plenum documentation on the NDP and on popular frontism contained elaborations of many of the phrases and formulations which connote the new NDP line--bourgeois government, obstacle and only obstacle, tactical orientation, etc., etc. In spite of using these openly, and in spite of their obvious difference from the formulations previously used, the leadership continued to maintain that the line had not changed, that it was only being refined. Deeds spoke louder than words, however. By this time--the spring of 1974--only one comrade was consistently active in the NDP women's committee, and that activity was not supported nor regarded seriously; very few comrades were integrated or active in their constituencies; NDP committee and fraction meetings were startlingly rare events; reports on NDP work to the branch even more so. And this in a situation in which there is an NDP government in office, with literally hundreds of activist NDPers going through an enormous political experience, with militants and radicals in the party crying out for explanations, analysis, leadership. Increasingly the League abstained from NDP work, and it was more and more often referred to as "just another work area". The non-serious approach was further reflected in the fact that those few comrades actually trying to work in the NDP received virtually no direction or guidance.

With the early summer came the federal election campaign. For the League, given its increasingly sectarian and isolated posture, the campaign at issue was not that to which the majority of the working class was relating --NDP versus Conservative and Liberal--but the competition with the RMG to see which group could be more revolutionary, which could score more points in the fight within the International. Branch meeting after branch meeting heard painfully detailed accounts of every phone call and every minor confrontation between the LSA and the RMG, and lengthy reports on the progress of Cde Alderdice's campaign for the revolutionary vote in the solidly middle-class and professional riding of Eglinton. An MP per also

ran in Eglinton, and comrades were expected to explain to NDPers who might find that odd that the revolutionary campaign, although it might of course take votes away from the NDP candidate, was in reality a campaign in their support. Few if any comrades played any role in the NDP campaign.

By this time the Transitional Program Tendency had formed within the League, to take up the battle for a discussion on the NDP. In June the central leadership had indicated that such a discussion would happen, although the Vancouver leadership professed ignorance of such plans. Finally, after innumerable letters, phone calls, meetings, etc., in October 74--a full two years after major differences on the NDP had surfaced within the movement--it happened. In most centres, the ducational slot in one branch meeting was set aside for the discussion; in Vancouver, two were taken up. Such time allocations speak volumes on the leadership's attitude towards this subject, and its interest in membership discussion and expression of views. Once again we heard that the line had not changed, although the leadership used much of its time to denounce the formulations on the NDP which were previously in use. Alternatively, it was posedtthat the discussion was "just beginning"; when and how it might continue was not made clear. It was quite obvious that it was expected that this token "discussion" would enable the question of the NDP to be shoved under the mat and filed there permanently.

The degeneration of the internal operations and organization of the League, and it s abandonment of the orientation to the NDP, are tragic, in that they signify that a movement which had as its aim the creation of a mass revolutionary vanguard party cannot be expected to achieve that goal. The whole history of the non-approach of the League to the gay liberation movement provides further evidence of the accuracy of thid analysis.

Sectarianism, drift, lack of internal democracy, political dishonesty, bureaucratic elitism--those are not the stuff of which a Bolshevik party is constructed. It is our conclusion, after a lengthy period of attempts and struggles to work against these phenomena within the League, that what were once tendencies and isolated incidents have grown and hardened qualitatively, and that there is no possibility of regeneration. For this reason, we are resigning our memberships in the LSA/LSO.

Cynthia Flood

Maurice Flood

SOCIALIST LEAGUE
85 King St.E.
Toronto

November 18, 1974

Dear Friend:

The Socialist League has now been in existence for about 9 months as a Trotskyist league of revolutionary socialists. During our short existence, we have spent a great deal of time and energy to arrive at our current stage. We have now reached the point at which we should have a conference to evaluate our progress, the problems before the Canadian revolutionary left, and what projections should be made flowing from these analyses.

Traditionally, we Trotskyists have held a conference or convention of the movement as a whole to develop these evaluations on a periodic basis. This is a time for charting our activities, challenging our forces, and renewing our leadership. Much thought and preparation go into such events, and this is no less true of the Socialist League.

Because of your association and common work with us, we take this opportunity to invite you to participate with us as observers. We feel that such an experience will prove valuable for both you and us in terms of developing a political understanding of the work of the Socialist League and in educating ourselves in preparation for what awaits us.

Yours fraternally,

D.R.

Dale Ritch,
S.L. Organizer

R.S.V.P. 363-6755

Socialist League Conference

TIME: 1:00 pm, Sunday, November 24, 1974
PLACE: 85 King Street East, 3rd Floor.

SOCIALIST LEAGUE
85 KING ST.E
TORONTO

Nov.19,1974

League for Socialist Action
Dear Comrades;

We have received your request that the Socialist League "support and build up" the campaign that you are carrying behind 10 candidates contesting the 45 seats open for election in the Toronto civic elections.

While we recognize that there is some merit in your efforts, we are not supporting, let alone building up your campaign.

The Socialist League has decided to run no candidates of its own in this election. We are giving critical support to the NDP electoral campaign.

Unlike the situation in Vancouver where the NDP area council gave leadership to the constituency associations to fill out a slate, the right wing leadership in the Toronto area has not done so and each constituency association is on its own. Nonetheless this situation has found a considerable number of NDPers running with the support of the various constituency associations across the city. Many of these candidates are declaring themselves to be NDPers regardless of the policy of the party leadership -- others are identifying themselves as pro-NDP in various ways.

Our comrades as members of the NDP are attempting to allocate time to participate in the electoral efforts of their fellow members in the various NDP constituency associations. Of necessity this requires them to support and build the NDP campaigns.

We note that you are running comrades Duhig and Trew for the two aldermanic seats in Ward 9, even though the two incumbents , Scott and Dorothy Thomas, are both well known NDPers and both are endorsed by the Metro Toronto Labor Council. It seems to us, in the face of your declared policy of support of the NDP, that rather than our being required to explain why we are supporting Scott and Thomas, you are required to explain why you are even contesting these two of the many open seats. In Ward 6 school trustee contest you are running comrades Dineen and Pritchard. It so happens that there are two other candidates contesting for the same seats, both well-known as NDPers--one of them,Spencer, was until recently the official organizer of the St George NDP constituency association.

Your 10th candidate is quoted as saying that if the civic authorities "think theyłre going to keep me off the ballot they're going to have a fight on their hands" as you entered her candidature, presumably to challenge the 18 year age franchise. Being 17 her name of course does not appear on the ballot. We do not think that a useful action can be conducted around the issue of civic democracy on such an issue at this time.

Where the NDP is not contesting and you are,we of course will support the LSA candidate.

with Trotskyist greetings

G. Deutsch

BALANCE SHEET & PERSPECTIVES REPORT

Report on the founding document of the Socialist League at its Branch Conference
Nov. 19, 1974
by Gord Deutsch (Doctorow)

Balance Sheet:

In the founding statement of the Socialist League, the Socialist League and the Struggle for a Socialist Canada, we remarked that we had resigned from the LSA/LSO because of its sectarian degeneration. We did this despite the fact that the comrades who gathered to form the Socialist League were in their majority longstanding former members of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, the traditional organization of Canadian Trotskyism affiliated to the Fourth International. This undoubtedly created great puzzlement and unease among the traditional supporters of Canadian Trotskyism. All the more so in a situation in which the whole left seemed to be fracturing into a proliferation of opposing tendencies, even opposed to one another under the same ideological banner. Today, we can point to 6 different groups in Canada bearing the banner of Trotskyism and claiming to represent 5 different Fourth Internationals.

For any serious revolutionary, such a situation in face of one of the biggest crises of world capitalism and imperialism and in face of the deepening and broadening of the radicalization in a Marxist direction, cannot help but be an alarming disappointment. For the task of overthrowing capitalism and replacing it with the mass revolutionary rule of the working class and its allies is enormous in scope and quality. It requires the united efforts of hundreds of millions, let alone of several revolutionary groups. The fracturing of the left is, therefore, undoubtedly a setback. So it is not without genuine cause that many came to question the formation of yet another revolutionary group – particularly a Trotskyist one. In the case of the Socialist League, the question was more acute inasmuch as the comrades who formed it were recognized to be a split-off of part of the basic cadre representing the historic experience of Canadian Trotskyism particularly in the personage of Comrade Ross Dowson, whose some 30 years as an active Trotskyist included his role as Executive Secretary of the League for Socialist Action and several of its predecessors. In the case of the RMG, Spartacists, Healyites, and Lambertists, they all represented recent radical elements in the Canadian Trotskyist left and have had little or no association with the historic Canadian experience except perhaps to play a hand in rupturing it.

So, in the face of these facts, why did we split? Was it necessary? Did our action in doing so constitute, as LSA leader John Riddell claims, an abandonment of the task of building the revolutionary party?

In order to answer these questions, it is necessary to look back a little at just what happened in the LSA to result in the split. For some two years before our departure from the LSA, there was constituted in its ranks a secret ultraleft faction coordinated with the Mandel leadership of the Fourth International. This was in a period of a significant sorting out of the amorphous and anti-Marxist new left. Many of these new elements, inexperienced as they were, broke out and came to Marxism and Trotskyism in their rejection of reformism and the betrayals of Stalinism. Their

youthful energy provided a great source of renewal for the long awaiting Trotskyist cadres who in their painfully small numbers had weathered the black reaction of World War II and McCarthyism. But the years had taken their toll, and those revolutionaries that capitalism wasn't able to hound into submission were subjected to the most vicious attacks from the Stalinists and social democrats. In the case of the Stalinists, we are all too familiar with their campaign of extermination of Trotskyism, which included the murder of precious leaders, the most grievous of which was the murder of our great revolutionary mentor, Leon Trotsky. Consequently, at the precise juncture of the rise of the new radicalization accompanied by the deepening crisis of world capitalism and the changing historical tide in favor of Trotskyism, the Trotskyist cadres were too thin to provide the necessary scaffolding to carry the weight of pretty-bourgeois ultraleftism entering massively into its camp.

So when the Revolutionary Communist Tendency (the predecessor nucleus of the Revolutionary Marxist Group) commenced to challenge with its poorly digested version of Trotskyism cum ultraleftism the whole experience and practice of Canadian Trotskyism both in practice and in theory, it was able to make considerable headway. This was not entirely due to its tremendous zeal but had more to do with the backing it received in the Fourth International leadership among the adaptationist Mandel faction and the extreme vulnerability and weakness of the majority of the LSA leadership, who were trying frantically to effect a generational transfer of leadership from the former Dowson leadership. Under the assault from the RCT, the Riddell leadership refused to defend the traditional positions of the movement, but instead withdrew into its leadership shell hardened by the formation of a degenerating clique. The record of the failure of the Riddell leadership went from its sudden reversal on the LSA's orientation to the Waffle and Canadian nationalism to the dumping of the abortion repeal movement for a period to standing silent before the RCT's root-and-branch attack on our NDP orientation (occasioned by the collapse of our NDP work in the Waffle fight against the NDP right wing and finally to ending up echoing the RCT's line in Labor Challenge at first and carrying it out in practice later). These facts are familiar to the comrades here today as well as other revisions carried out by the LSA leadership, revisions carried out without prior discussion in any of the leading bodies of the LSA, such as our position on the nature of Quebec and the Québécois union leadership. All this is alluded to in our founding statement. The purpose of mentioning these things here is to establish the right framework to explain and evaluate what we did and draw the conclusions of what we should be doing.

It took two years of battles within the LSA, which saw the formation of two tendencies encompassing many of the comrades here to try to halt and reverse the LSA's sectarian drift and degeneration. Alas, the LSA leadership was set on its course and many comrades were beginning to show the strain. Lapses of inactivity by the whole movement and the splitting of the RCT accompanied by many of the energetic youth elements created a leadership crisis within the LSA, within a leadership which was meeting the political crisis by rapidly revising its norms and replacing them with new norms of loyalty and non-criticism of the leadership above all. In place of democratic centralism came ukase and blandishments alternating with "friendly" corridor discussions. The movement's orientations and line were being shaped this way. This led some of the older cadre to drift out of the revolutionary movement in defeat, some to side with the

leadership as the only hope for a renaissance and one or two to fight the battle to defend our traditions and line.

The 19 comrades who left the LSA in February 1974 to form the Socialist League, together with some comrades who remained to fight as the Transitional Program Tendency had considered that the LSA had degenerated in an ultra-left direction. The 19 considered furthermore that the changes in line had gone so far and the leadership and membership so cynical that there could be no hope of a satisfactory discussion and that we were on the edge of a process of attrition of what good elements remained in the LSA. In this we differed from the critics who remained with the prospect of forcing a discussion and exposing the leadership. Our choice was clear: to go forward to build anew the nucleus of cadres that the LSA had begun to build but finally abandoned. We, however, did not start from scratch. We based ourselves on positions codified in the LSA convention and plenum documents up until 1971 - on the NDP, Quebec, Women's Liberation, the youth radicalization, Bolshevik norms, etc. We did not abandon our historic task, but rather we decided to reconstruct. For despite the fact that the differences were not of a fundamental character, a degenerating sect would be useless to construct the mass revolutionary party of the future. Such a task requires courage and honesty.

The comrades who were involved in the split were neither of the older cadre (for the most part) nor of the new elements, but rather something in between. Our experience was that of activists and secondary leaders within the LSA and YS. By the standards of the average experience of the general membership of the LSA/YS, we were older, but not in the real continuity of cadres. This gap was unfortunately unbridged in the Canadian Trotskyist movement as a whole. But inexperienced as we were in the processes of organizing and directing an entire movement, we pulled ourselves up out of the sluggish inertia of the LSA and tried to form a modest Trotskyist movement which would attempt to assimilate the lessons of the LSA's degeneration in the context of a theoretical discussion of this stage of the radicalization, while at the same time seeking to do basic educational work and carry on activities within the radicalization, particularly within the Canadian nationalist and NDP milieus.

Our perspective was highly unusual for Trotskyists. The general experience of the revolutionary movement has been that each new formation began its existence with its own paper or journal through which it could present itself and spread and amplify its views to broader audiences within the working class and socialist movements. We, on the other hand, did not feel prepared to undertake this type of activity after the exhausting fight in the LSA, and we were as yet unsure of how to pace ourselves.

Furthermore, among us there were some differences of opinion on several questions arising from the soured experience in the LSA. In any case, we felt that we needed to pause and think for a while to sort out our understanding. This is not to say that the Socialist League was founded with ambiguous positions on its tasks and methods – we considered ourselves the continuators of the traditions of the LSA – but rather that this awareness led us to hesitate a little before the weight of these tasks.

Nonetheless, by April, two months later, we took the first step towards reconstruction with the acquisition of a headquarters and the concomitant routinizing of the collection of dues and pledges. Because of our previous training and experience, we were able to establish an executive and functioning branch in short order. And as the HQ became equipped and more functional due to the skilful efforts of a number of comrades and despite the fact that we had no full-time staff,we were able to move forward because of the great desire on the part of comrades to succeed. In fact, a few comrades functioned unofficially on a full-time basis in order to establish the basic headquarters. And aided by the financial commitments of comrades and friends, we were able to rapidly outfit our office with the basic necessities.

We anticipated that we would not be introducing much in the way of written material in our own name until about the fall when we would proceed more in the direction of an activist branch. Even the question of having a full-time staff would be postponed. However, this all too modest perspective changed rapidly.

Some of our student activists, unwilling and impatient to wait to present the Socialist League to radical student audiences had the temerity to suggest that we issue leaflets on some of the campus issues. So, for the first time, our comrades began to develop their skills as writers for the Socialist League. Few of us had been involved previously with this type of work in the LSA. But comrades went ahead. Then we began to write leaflets for the Waffle meeting on the energy crisis, for a Labor Council meeting on inflation. Meanwhile, one of our comrades, who had been previously known as a Young Socialist had missed becoming president of students council at York U. on a left slate ticket by a small but elusive margin. He had been beaten out by a right wing NDPer. But we in the Socialist League considered this to be a measure of success in the efficacy of using the approach of the Transitional Program before a broad and potentially radical audience. So we decided to capitalize on our success, and Dale Ritch, our outgoing staff organizer, gave the first Socialist League forum on socialism at York right after the election.

But the decisive turn in our thinking and activity was the challenge of the federal election last summer. Within this decisive event in class politics our mettle as Trotskyists was to be tested. Two tasks remained before us: l) to deepen our identification with the NDP by actively working for the NDP in the election campaign as NDP activists and 2) to launch ourselves publicly by producing the first issue of our press, which would express our NDP orientation and our general views, as the basis of a subscription campaign aimed at speaking to NDPers.

It would be a serious omission if we did not frankly admit that the launching of (the journal) *Forward* was an agonizing process. But after much debate and consideration, we launched the 6-issues for $1.00 subscription campaign and put out an interventionist paper. We deliberately chose the format of a news tabloid ("like the old Worker's Vanguard") because we wanted to speak to workers and to be able to deal with current topics of interest to the awakening consciousness of newly radicalizing elements as well as the revolutionary left. These decisions and actions were a milestone in breaking out of what inertia may have existed in our movement. Comrades responded to the challenge and we were able to go over the top on our sub drive goal of 200 subscriptions and we moved into NDP election work to establish our connections and combine this activity with getting subscriptions to NDPers – a consciously worked out policy.

Overall, these efforts were successful in terms of our goals and forces, providing us with a valuable source of insight and inspiration for our fledgling forces to bank on in the future.

We also launched an intensive educational program as would befit a revolutionary educational group. In our internal seminars, we held discussions on Canadian Nationalism, Quebec, the NDP, etc. in order to be able to more fully develop our understanding of these theoretical questions being debated in the left and workers movement so that among ourselves we could have a common understanding and appreciation of our agreements and differences through serious, worked-out discussions.

We also began a series of 4 bi-weekly forums in the summer on the topics of Canadian unionism, the NDP, Women's Liberation, and our analysis of the federal election – each topic involving key questions of theory and action before the Canadian left. We were able to attract good attendance at all these forums and meet new radicals as well as debate some old ones. Alongside the forum series, we launched a complementary series of classes on Marxist theory taking up some of the great masters of Marxism like Lenin and Trotsky. These educationals allowed us to develop more of a political relationship and understanding with our sympathizers, although the classes proved to be uneven in quality and direction. However, this might be expected at our incipient stage of organization and development.

As for our internal operation, we carried with us from the LSA the concepts of regular branch meetings, a set of internal fractions and committees whose function it was to guide and develop the work of our movement in the various work areas. Perhaps the most important committee that we undertook to shape was the executive committee, whose task it was to supervise and direct the overall work of the movement within the framework of constructing a collectivity from which would emerge the cadres of our movement.

Despite the formal aspect of a movement structure, we were faced with a persistent problem of a failure to maintain a day-to-day structured operation which comrades and sympathizers could feed into. This situation was largely due to our not having an available staff person to oversee and control the operation and organize the work of comrades. Therefore, we often operated without worked out priorities, individually and not in a collectively worked out way, and we did not have a consistent operation – for example, the HQ was not open and available on a consistent basis for comrades to meet and do work.

This problem showed up particularly in organizing the production of *Forward.* Putting out a paper – even a monthly - requires organized files and clippings to assure standards of quality and rigor. Therefore, our HQ had to be available and organized to build up the base for *Forward*.

The same problem was felt in organizing classes, forums, social events, internal work areas, etc.

On top of all this, we went ahead and published two pamphlets and are in the process of the third. We have just completed a series of classes on the Vanguard Party, a series of social activities ranging from a Thanksgiving Dinner at Camp Poundmaker to a theatre party, to our big fund drive social. And we have put out 4 issues of *Forward,* which must be counted as the most

important thing we have accomplished from the point of view of presenting our line and from the point of view of developing an important political leadership experience.

One of the main factors in lubricating our wheels was the fact that we put Dale Ritch on staff as organizer of the Socialist League. Thus we could structure and organize our operation more satisfactorily.

This has certainly been a big help in organizing distributions of the press and opening up the HQ for the use of comrades and contacts. But by no means has the organizational problem of coordinating and structuring the work of a small movement to allow our movement to effectively take advantage of the opportunities been solved. We can see this by the lack of planning in our different work areas, by the hit-and-miss methods in the projects we undertake, by the fact that our fractions and committees often fail to meet and coordinate their work. We still have a distance to go to introduce method and cohesiveness to our work. However, we do not need to start from scratch: we can rely on the excellent works of James P. Cannon and our own Canadian experiences for this, and we can rely on our own ranks, who certainly expect leadership and direction from our leading comrades. In fact, it is precisely the feeling of impatience and anticipation arising from within our movement that will cause us most to be more serious and organized about our work in order that we may grow. Certainly without planning and coordination it would be hopeless for a small group as ours to grow and mature. Without correct politics, we are surely lost, but without a method to implement our ideas, we condemn our politics to splendid isolation.

Already we have begun to take on some important changes in order to meet the growing requirements of our movement. For example, we have expanded our office space so that we could have more effective working room to put out *Forward* and carry on other activities and meetings simultaneously — this was an elementary necessity which our movement met through an increase in the monetary contributions of our own membership. Of course, this is only one type of cost among many, such as the acquisition of our typewriters, strip-printer, etc., all of which will be more fully discussed in the Financial report from our treasurer. Even now, after the success of our fund drive which raised about $7,000 internally and externally, we find ourselves once again looking to increase our funding to allow us to acquire a bookstore and hall facility in order that we won't have to suffer the vicissitudes of renting an outside hall for our forums and so that we will be more accessible to radicals. Certainly, we have nothing to be complacent about in terms of what we have achieved: we have only laid the basis for what is yet necessary to achieve.

No balance sheet report is complete without assessing our external work areas. Although reports on these will be presented by comrades active and knowledgeable in these areas, I would like to present a summary. Since our beginning, we have worked in Latin American Defense work (Chile and Brazil — the most important of which is Chile in terms of Canadian complicity and in terms of the focus of world attention); here we were in conflict with the LSA over developing a genuine united front which did not downplay the role of the revolutionary left or cause the breaking of good faith with the liberals by sneaking in the revolutionary left at the last moment. Furthermore, we maintained our position of forcing a broad united front encompassing the CP, NDP, and the liberal elements.

In the area of Women's Liberation, we placed primary emphasis on the abortion movement as the broadest and most dynamic area of concern to hose conscious of the issue of women's oppression today. Here too our work consisted of broadening out the active movement of support for repeal of the abortion laws around the case of Dr. Morgentaler. Another area of women's liberation work that we helped build and publicize was the day care movement, which involved one of our comrades in a prominent and leading role (Pat Schulz daycare centre –ed.)

The NDP, considered by us to be the touchstone of class politics in Canada, has received considerable coverage and attention in our press and forums, but still lacks the type of involvement by our comrades that such an understanding would warrant. We have much to do in the way of building up a left caucus and circulating the revitalization statement that appeared at the Sudbury conference.

In the field of trade union activity, we began modestly and ambitiously by holding a meeting of a Vanguard Labor Action Committee to form a broad forum for militant unionists. Unfortunately,we got no farther than the holding of one meeting. However, we have managed to intervene at the O.F. of L. (Ontario Federation of Labor) Convention with our press and with our contacts, and we were able to feed into at least one promising union situation. Most important of all, we were able to recruit some trade unionists in the last while — surely an important step for any group aspiring to build a proletarian party. In fact, looking at our membership today, we can readily observe that a large proportion of comrades are workers and unionists as opposed to students, which is perhaps an indicator of the direction of the current radicalization.

That is not to say that we have not been involved in the student movement. At York U., we now have an abortion committee launched and an SL club with two new members. And we have already created a stir by leading a revolt among the student clubs against the administration which sought to take away their office space and replace it with more remote and unsatisfactory facilities. Our campus work is as yet only partial and really carried out on only one campus largely due to the problem of a division of labor involving comrades on University of Toronto and McMaster campuses in other work areas – primarily the production of *Forward*.

Because of our sensitive orientation to the nationalist mood in Canadian radical politics, of all the Trotskyist groups, we alone have sought to orient to and discuss with Waffle in order to influence its anti-capitalist direction towards a Trotskyist perspective. We have tried to deal with the central political problems in an honest and fraternal way in order to achieve a higher level of understanding among Wafflers and those influenced by the Waffle. Of course, *Forward* has been invaluable in this type of work particularly in explaining our position on Canadian nationalism and the objective nature of the Canadian state and how these impact the configuration of class forces in this country.

After this summary of our work, it is pretty clear that the glue that holds all our work together is the circulation of our press, not only in the milieus listed before but in all the meetings and discussions taking place in the working class and radicalizing milieus. It is here that we have made our biggest strides, but all that will be taken up in the next report.

Finally, what can we say about where we have arrived in consideration of our decision to split from the LSA 9 months ago? Although imperfect in many ways, we have attained a new level in the posing of Trotskyism in Canada. We recruited, built a headquarters, established our press, and set out our work areas particularly emphasizing NDP work contrary to the opinion of almost every other left tendency in Canada. Despite our small numbers and originally limited perspective, 9 months later we are in a qualitatively new situation in terms of reconstructing a Canadian Trotskyist movement. The measure of the correctness of our earlier decision cannot only be seen from this direct result, but also from another more indirect result. The Transitional Program Tendency stayed in the LSA with a stay and fight perspective. Like us, they had concluded that the LSA had changed its line on the NDP and in every way was degenerating in an ultra-left direction; but, unlike us, they thought it possible to correct this deviation or at least expose it before the membership by demanding the opening up of a discussion on the NDP. Ironically, these comrades, by and large, did not really become activated until the galvanizing shock of our leaving the LSA - a shock which revealed the depth of the problem for the first time to many in the LSA.

But while the TPT was fighting for the opening up of the discussion, the LSA had gone much further in terms of completely changing our original line - when it ran against the NDP in the federal election under pressure from the RMG, in the way it lacerated the NDP in Labor Challenge while calling on workers to support it (while at the same time posing that the NDP in government would be a bourgeois government – certainly nothing to recommend itself to radicalizing workers), and more recently, in its savage attacks against the socialist opposition within the B.C.NDP and in its running against the NDP candidates in the municipal elections – all the while denying that anything had changed. Of course, the effect of this was not only political confusion, but also a come-on for the right wing leadership of the NDP to expel LSAers and perhaps other Trotskyists, as well. So the demand for an opening up of the discussion on the NDP more and more took on a farcical character. In the end, the discussion was held with no bounce from the membership because the lineup had already been effected in the most powerful way — in practice. The TPT exists no more. Some of those comrades have now found a home in the Socialist League (thus providing us with comrades in Orillia and Brantford), some have suspended themselves from the organized Trotskyist movement, and one or two have remained in the LSA with no possibility of doing anything. Certainly we are now entitled to draw the balance sheet of this experience. I think the evidence is unmistakeable: for us not to have left when we did would have put us in a much weaker position than we are now in. And we needed to arrive at a position of independence from the dry rot of the LSA no matter what original course in February.

Perspectives:

This takes us to the final part of this report. What are our perspectives for the future? What can we – and should we, project for ourselves in the next while?

First and foremost, we need to build the most important expression of our ideas and views as a historical movement and as a partisan force for the victory of the working class, the Trotskyist press. And as Canadian revolutionists, we need to provide an analysis and program for the development of the class struggle in this country. Our press speaks more eloquently and more fully than any one of us. It tells people who and what we are, and it tells it to a lot of people as the Circulation Report will show. Without our press, we are not a proper movement. That idea of course lay behind our big effort around the fund drive for *Forward* , and that is what motivated us to lay out the capital and valuable time and energy of the comrades to put out a monthly *Forward*. We are challenged to increase the circulation of *Forward* and to build up its sub base so that we will increase our influence in the advanced areas of the class and so that we can grow. The one week blitz sub drive to get 100 subs in the last week before the municipal elections is the type of action that is needed to transform not only the quantity but also the quality of our work as revolutionists.

But the purpose of the press is not for its own sake. It is for the sake of recruitment of new Trotskyists. This area requires the most scrupulous attention from a serious movement. Contact and recruitment work need to occupy the full place of priority in our small movement. Therefore, we need to be alert to the possibilities in the areas of the radicalization particularly in the campuses, the NDP, and the trade union movement through our propaganda and our participation as activists. And we need to be better organized in terms of our files, discussions, and reports on new and promising possible recruits. It is not enough to tell them the truth, we need to be systematic in our approach to win serious people

A revolutionary propaganda group like ours must perforce become heavily involved in education about socialism – about our theory, our methods, our organization. Particularly now, in a period of relative quiescence in the class struggle, we should concentrate on elaborating, planning, and executing a well thought out and systematic educational program. We need this type of program to arm ourselves when dealing with our opponents, when confronted with intervening as leaders in mass situations, and when trying to create the leadership cadre of our movement who can think and act independently to build a collectivity of revolutionists harnessed to the same goals towards building the mass revolutionary party. Educational work – whether classes on theory, internal educationals on current questions, or external forums – is interconnected with all our other areas. We need to be educated to write an effective press which will educate others and guide our efforts; we need education to recruit and train new Trotskyists; we need education to effectively carry our program into our different work areas.

The press, recruitment, and education are really the cornerstones of our work for the next period. Of course, because of the strategic importance of the NDP for winning influence in the working class and the strategic importance of the Canadian nationalist sentiment in terms of understanding how to shape our work to the form of the class struggle in Canada, we will place a great deal of stress on external activities in these areas as well. But we must bear in mind that although the possibilities for intervention are extremely favorable that a modest group like ours must learn to pace itself in its activities, even bypass opportunities in order to patiently build up

the basic forces we require – and that is why movement building work remains in the centre of our projections. And we must also bear in mind that this can only be accomplished by planning and method in all our work and thought. And that is the challenge coming out of this conference.

(end)

(Found in 1974)

Valentyn Moroz and the struggle for freedom in the Ukraine

A panel of three Ukrainian student activists will discuss the ongoing struggle for civil rights and self-determination in the Ukrainian S.S.R.

The discussion will focus on the case of Valentyn Moroz, a Ukrainian dissident who lies near death in Vladimir prison.

SPEAKERS:

MYROSLAV SHKANDRIJ -past editor of STUDENT
IHOR PETELYCKY -SUSK fieldworker
ANHELYNA SCZUCH -current editor of STUDENT

FRIDAY Nov. 22 - 8 pm

at

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

Sidney Smith Bldg.

ROOM 2106

West side of ST. GEORGE Street
1 block south of Harbord

SPONSORED BY

Socialist FORUM

85 KING ST. EAST - TORONTO * INFORMATION: 363-6755

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

forward

Vol. 1, No. 4 Nov. 1974 Toronto 20 Cents

Highrise profits, spur housing crisis

By Adrian Firan

Crisis is no news when it comes to housing. While a decline in sawmill activity has thrown more than 10,000 BC lumber workers out of work in the last two months, new construction, needed to ease the shocking lack of housing in Canada's major cities, has been plummeting steadily. In September, construction was only two-thirds of last year's total. Vacancy rates on rental housing in Vancouver and Toronto are down to virtually nil.

And landlords are raking it in. The shortage has enabled them to charge record rent increases. One CMHC survey in August reported increases in high rise rents were commonly from 10 percent to 22 percent in Toronto. They noted that increases in low rise and older housing were probably much higher. With tenants blackmailed into staying put, the quality of housing naturally deteriorates — particularly for poor people. It was reported that more than one-third of all Toronto rooming house tenants are living in fire traps. Who will be the next victim of slum landlord Meridian, the giant Toronto developer?

Meanwhile, in spite of their laments to the contrary, developers are getting richer. The average price they receive for a new house is $75,000. Developers moan that in Toronto they are not building because of restrictions imposed by City Council. Really it is current mortgage shortages and high interest rates, products of capitalism's economic crisis, which are slowing down the rate of return on new housing investments.

But the developers have found a way to cash in on this. By stalling on new projects they have created a shortage which increases return on old investments as well as allowing them a higher profit margin on new building made possible by the inflated rents and sale prices brought about by this shortage.

While developers are free to manipulate rents in this way, tenants (who are 50 percent of Toronto's population) are powerless to fight back. Low income tenants who attempt to take their landlords to court are often denied legal aid on the basis that they have no chance of winning. The only hope of fighting back is in tenant organization. Landlord-tenant Acts must be revised to include the right of collective bargaining for all tenants if we are to begin to control this profiteering.

As the situation now stands, we are not only powerless to control rents, we are also powerless to control the kind of housing developed.

Forced out of their homes to make way for high rise apartments, the housing situation in Toronto has declined drastically for working class families. Only 10 percent of all new housing has been for families. The rest has been for the more profitable higher income groups. Much of this new housing has not even provided more actual places to live. **Toronto for Sale** explains that between 1967 and 1971, the number of new apartment suites increases by 22,832 but these only accommodated 1212 more people.

Lorimer in **Citizens Guide to Politics** put the facts succinctly. "We need to be clear about one basic issue," he says. "There is a fundamental overriding conflict between the interests of the property industry and the interests of ordinary citizens. The industry's basic desire is to have land values, building prices and rents as high as possible at all times, and to see property values going up as quickly as possible, rents going up just as fast, and only as much new construction and development as is consistent with their basic desire to maximize their profits and wealth. The basic interests of ordinary

continued on page 3

'Stagflation' threat to labor

By Wayne Roberts

Kicking off the First Session of the 30th Parliament, the Trudeau Government's Speech from the Throne admitted that "the most serious problem is inflation" and vowed to "deal with its causes and to mitigate its effects". But the Speech offered little in the way of adequate relief measures, and Canada's double digit inflation rate is not likely to reach a downward trend. By themselves, increasing the supply of goods and services and protecting "those least able to protect themselves" will provide nothing more than a mere filing down the jagged edges of the inflationary problem. Finance Minister John Turner's proud assertion that the Canadian economy is in better shape then nearly any other Western nation offers little compensation for Canadian working people as well as those on fixed incomes.

As if spiraling inflation is not enough, top Canadian economists predict a severely curtailed economic growth for 1975. The nation's real gross national product will rise by only 1.2 percent next year, and this "slower rate of economic expansion", according to Arthur J.R. Smith, President of the Ottawa-based Conference Board, will be coupled with increasing inflation. The Trudeau majority government is unlikely to consider the criticism of NDP House Leader Ed Broadbent that the Liberal policies are shopworn and have produced no benefits.

Canadian working and lower income people, with no relief in sight from government policies, will have to increasingly rely on their own efforts to defend previously won wage standards. A crucial aspect of this defence will be the burgeoning demand for cost of living allowance (COLA) clauses in negotiated contracts. The "escalator" character of the COLA ties wage increases to the consumer price index and thus serves to cushion workers from the worst effects of galloping inflation.

Unfortunately, some union leaders see it differently. Gilbert Levine, Research Director for CUPE, recently remarked that "COLA comes at a price. If it is not a true COLA then it is not worth having". Levine argued — correctly — that linking wage rates to the price index by itself does not maintain consumer purchasing power, as working people pay a much greater chunk of their income on food and housing than accounted for by the consumer price index. And both necessities are showing the steepest inflationary trend.

Levine's argument, however, is faulty in one respect. Since working people have no control over the inflationary spiral, they are obliged to defend their pay cheques against higher costs. In spite of its potential shortcomings, the COLA is the only of assuring protection t inflation. Negotiated ts without COLA are based in part on the hope or belief e rate of inflation will stay bounds covered by a larger ackage. But if the consumer index surpasses the wage e during the course of the ct, the COLA provides

ed on page 7

ECONOMIC CRISIS POSES CHALLENGE TO BR. LABOR PARTY

By A. Schreibmann

In the midst of an unparalleled economic crisis, Harold Wilson was installed in 10 Downing Street on October 11th in an election which gave the Labor Party a narrow three seat majority in the British parliament.

Throughout the election campaign, articles dealing with the possibility of a revolution, social chaos and a right wing coup were ed in the normally sober pages Monde and the New York

anxiety of the world press was btedly created by the alarm- conomic and political con- re in which Britain finds it-

ing for the New York Times :tober 12th, Terry Robards ed up the situation cogently: sening inflation, rising loyment, more government ention in private industry squeeze on corporate profits prospect for Britain as she her most critical period since Waf II.

l parties contesting last day's general election agreed ne economic crisis facing the is the most difficult one in les. The only points of eement were how much the ion would deteriorate and how e with it."

British economy is presently ing from an annual inflation f 17 per cent moving towards cent, growing unemployment ening to top one million this g winter, and a gigantic al debt aggravated daily by ormous balance of payments s caused by the oil crisis. ritical is the British economic on that the consortium of rs who had hoped to develop ast North Sea oil and gas ses jointly with the British nment is threatening to withhold their loans. The bankers fear the government will have difficulty paying the $2.5 billion that Britain will owe them in deferred interest payments alone by 1976. England's current currency reserves amount to scarcely three times that amount.

The economic crisis of British capitalism has been compounded by a political crisis. Both the March and October British general elections indicated a profound crisis of leadership in the Conservative Party, the voice of the British capitalist class. The Conservative Party, without an effective leader and in a state of growing disunity, acted somewhat relieved at the prospect of not having been elected.

It is doubtful that Harold Wilson reacted with great enthusiasm to his own party's re-election. Wilson now faces the ominous task of solving the extensive difficulties of British capitalism "by a partnership between government and the whole of our national family, a partnership in which all of us would be partners, and all must play their part."

Harold Wilson's campaign featured a "social contract" with the trade unions and a program of industrial nationalisation of the ailing shipbuilding and aircraft industries.

Wilson's social contract was an agreement he concluded with the leadership of Britain's Trade Union Congress in which the trade unions agreed to voluntary wage restraints. As a central issue in the campaign, the contract may have won Wilson the votes of some disenchanted Tories but the British working class has already voted with its feet. At the Ford plants in England, 53,000 workers have rejected a settlement already far in excess of the social contract. The coal-miners, whose militant strike earlier this year

continued on page 6

NDP candidates needed to win labor control of City Hall

Food bills that are close to highway robbery. Skyrocketting rents. Poisonous pollution: Lack of adequate transportation and public recreational facilities. Cutbacks in all social services.

These and other issues confront voters in major cities across the country. But the chance to vote for a solution is not there.

In federal and provincial elections, working people have the opportunity of voting for a party rooted in the unions and expressing a labor alternative to the unhampered rule of business — the NDP. With the virtual absence of this alternative in the municipal elections, class-conscious workers are virtually disenfranchised.

The failure of the NDP to enter full or even substantial slates in municipal elections is usually explained by two arguments. First, it is said, municipal politics is a non-partisan arena. Secondly, it is urged, an NDP slate would split the progressive vote by alienating important community-based people who are not New Democrats but who would vote for independents.

Both arguments are wrong. There are no genuine "independents" even in city politics. The machines of the old-line parties are behind one or other of all the major candidates. As for interfering with loosely co-ordinated civic reform movements, it must be admitted that they provide no alternative to the NDP.

Toronto has provided the most lucid test for these loose reformers. And they have failed at almost every level.

They have not introduced any meaningful citizen control. The Metro Chairman, recently instrumental in negotiations against the TTC workers, was appointed, not elected. And no one has yet successfully discredited Sewell's reasoning in predicting Godfrey's appointment to this important post: "He is acceptable to the Conservative Party in Queen's Park and he is acceptable to the development industry."

The Council has not even been able to control the police as was revealed in their vicious strikebreaking in the Artistic Woodwork strike. Police chief Adamson firmly rebuked any idea of police responsibility to the public: "I

→p.2

in this issue:
Whither Waffle . . . p4
BC-NDP Manifesto . . . p6
Socialism & Cdn. nationalism . . p5

must make unpopular decisions and I must have backing," he insisted.

The Council has failed to better the conditions of working people in any basic and substantial way. They have failed despite the well-intentioned, dramatic and even courageous efforts of alderpersons like Heap, Thomas or Sewell.

They have failed because the very idea on which their activities are based is false. There is no such thing as "independents" or independence in municipal politics. Municipal programs and policies are subject to the whims of provincial and federal governments in everything from educational and social welfare cutbacks to transportation policy. "You can't have socialism in one city," says militant alderperson Dorothy Thomas. "We're affected by decisions at Metro and Queen's Park, and in Ottawa." "And in Washington", added Dan Heap, in their joint interview last year.

Nor can city politicians be independent of the major social basis of policy-

continued on page 2

NDP civic slates needed to win labor City Hall

continued from page 1

decisions, because all politics are a reflection of class interests. Developers have had a heyday with the class contradictions of the reform coalition. "At one point there was a certain proper alliance between the neighbourhood protection tendency and the low-income housing tendency," says Heap. But opposing developers, pure and simple, has not led to any additions to housing stock in a situation that has already reached crisis proportions. And Crombie has been able to sail between the rifts in this reform coalition with perfect ease, towing the line of the developers and big business. As Sewell himself admitted: "Crombie's big job has always been to tie together the liberals and the old guard. He's always forgotten about the reformers. If you look at the hard votes you'll always see the reformers are voting against what Crombie is doing . . . . It's minority government. I'm not saying that's a bad thing — it's just that we thought we won the election. We didn't."

Nor has the neighbourhood served as a viable basis for working-class representation at city hall. As reformer Colin Vaughan lamented: "The people elected this Council with a mandate to change the urban environment, then went home to wait for it to happen. That vacuum is being filled gradually by groups violently opposed to the beliefs of the people who elected us." Certainly this is no alternative to an NDP slate of councillors, responsible to municipal conventions which ensure that they carry out the platform on which they were elected.

Something of the direction that is needed has been provided by the Vancouver Area Council of the NDP which editorialized for a full slate of NDP candidates in Vancouver's upcoming civic elections. Despite their failure to present a full NDP slate, largely out of an unwarranted deference for a loose reform grouping called COPE, they are introducing a concept that will be central in the redefinition of city politics. Their posters emphasize that there are two forces contesting control of the city — big business and the working people. The NDP represents "one side only" — the working people. They have also put forward the important idea of using city hall as an instrument in the struggle for broader social change, as the municipal arm of the struggles on behalf of the oppressed.

An NDP municipal government would be pledged to tenant rights, mass publicly-provided housing under tenant control, public ownership of land and a pro-labor stance. Working with people on the level of their daily problems, they could forge a dynamic base for extending the power and principles of independent labor action.

In the municipal elections ahead, it is important to roll up a big vote for the NDP candidates that are running. But, it is just as important to look a little further ahead, and begin the discussions that can lay the groundwork for future NDP municipal slates. Then the struggles and lessons of the last few years can be made worthwhile.

forward #4

Editor: Wayne Roberts

FORWARD is published in the interests of working people by the Forward Publishing Association. Signed articles express the opinions of the writers and are not necessarily the opinions of the publishers. Mail should be addressed to Forward, Box 778, Adelaide St. P.O. Toronto.

forward #4 Nov 1974

Balance sheet on the repeal movement

Morgentaler & the Abortion Repeal Struggle

By Alice Klein

As Morgentaler's Supreme Court hearing draws to a close, Justice Minister Otto Lang's crusade to deny women legal abortion is intensifying almost beyond belief.

Lang's direct orders restricting abortion in the North West Territories to virtually nil and cautioning liberal hospital committees to prevent what he sneeringly terms their 'abortion on demand' policies are now crowned by his latest move to block government funds to any agency which provides abortion counselling or referral in the course of its services. He has gone so far as to suggest that abortion referral services may be illegal.

The viciousness of this new attack, coming as it does in the midst of the final round of Morgentaler's lengthy court battle, is cruel testimony to the resolve of the federal government to prevent a repeal victory.

At the same time, Lang's ability to proceed with this offensive is evidence of the relative weakness of the repeal movement.

Repeal activists can only be puzzled by the striking dissimilarity of Canadian events with those in the US which culminated in the Supreme Court victory, overturning US abortion restrictions.

The American repeal movement emerged at the height of the powerful radicalization spurred by the anti-Vietnam war movement which had shaken the American ruling class to its very roots. The fact that the burgeoning women's liberation movement was showing all the vital signs of continuing in the same tradition was a distinct advantage.

Moreover, mixed motives influenced the granting of repeal. To the racists who rule the US, the rapidly growing third world population in the US was alarming. This made a measure which they saw as contributing to minority population control, seem less offensive.

As well, two aspects of the specifically American revolutionary tradition hastened the victory of repeal in the US. Embedded in the Constitution is the Bill of Rights, which was the basis for the legal challenge to the laws. When Morgentaler's defense referred to the contravention of the Canadian Bill of Rights, inherent in our abortion laws, the Supreme Court judge ruled this line of defense irrelevant.

Equally important, the legacy of the American revolution has served to undermine the political power and influence of the Catholic church. The same cannot be said of Canada.

We have been aware from the beginning that in seeking to overturn the abortion laws, we were confronting head-on the Catholic Church male hierarchy. We recognize that the organizational strength of the 'fetus fetishists' has rested on the ability of the Catholic Church, given its wealth and resources, to influence its followers. It is now clear, however, that the real effectiveness of their campaign has not been to swing public opinion against abortion. On the contrary, polls continue to record majority opinion favouring repeal. Rather, we are seeing the capacity of the Catholic Church, through common interest and well-established channels, to influence this country's rulers. Morgentaler's case dramatizes this. While a Quebecois and presumably Catholic jury refused to convict him, the Quebec Government hastened to overturn their verdict.

Results of a gallup poll published October 26, 1974 show 62 percent of Canadians believe abortion should be a decision between a woman and her doctor. Seven percent were undecided.

This obstacle does not relieve us from reviewing the subjective problems which surround the campaign. After all, the Canadian movement has had the advantage of the NDP's and trade union movement's endorsation of repeal, and above all the compelling example of Henry Morgentaler whose heroic actions have served to provide a focal point of the struggle. Yet the challenge to speak out, to unite behind the movement implicit in Morgentaler's acts, remains to an appalling degree, unfulfilled. Lang's ability to launch an offensive at this point is confirmation of this sad fact.

In part, the weakness of the repeal movement can be accounted for by the impact of Trudeau's liberalization of the law in 1969.

→ p 2

p.2

Those most likely to be mobilized into the repeal movement, women in urban centers with knowledge of the laws and access to sympathetic doctors and hospital boards, were those to whom legal abortion was most readily available. This created the illusion that abortion was not a major problem for the majority of women. This short-sightedness, now shattered by the anti-repeal offensive, was a block to the development of the campaign.

NDP Failure

In addition, while the NDP and the trade union movement have supported repeal, they have, for the most part, done so on paper only. Symbolic of this was the manner in which the NDP carried themselves in the last election. The NDP's central campaign office went so far as to caution their candidates not to raise the abortion issue — fearing controversy that might harm their election effort. The outcome of the election indicates that this approach in no way served their ends. Rather, in spite of the fact that they evaded the issue, 'Right to Life' forces have claimed gloatingly a hand in Lewis' defeat.

It appears that Lewis was not the only prominent individual with a reputation as a champion of civil liberties and human rights to be intimidated by the anti-abortion forces. Only lately have a number of prominent humanitarians overcome their blushing hesitancy to identify themselves with an issue so intimately related to the right of women to control their own reproductive organs.

Women's Movement Default

Ultimately, however, the weakness of the repeal movement can only be accounted for by the weaknesses within the women's movement itself. Because its response to this challenge was such a fractured one, it was unable to lead the recalcitrant humanitarians, the NDP and the trade union movement into the heat of battle. One wing of the movement, convinced that men, not big business were the prime enemy, considered the question of abortion secondary to the task of creating a sub-culture of services and consciousness-raising activities aiming to lessen the weight of male domination through sisterhood and solidarity. While their undertakings have a legitimate place in the women's movement, the failure of this layer of feminists to mobilize themselves at crucial moments in the struggle and their evident hostility towards the abortion campaign were serious impediments to the struggle. One Toronto group even took the absurd position of rationalizing their lack of participation in this struggle by explaining that since Morgentaler was male, he represented the enemy and therefore deserved no support from the women's movement.

Others on the left, blinded by their revolutionary rhetoric, scorned the idea of involving themselves in struggle for a mere reform — a struggle which they felt failed to draw real class lines between bourgoise and working class women. They overlooked the fact that it is only poor and working class women to whom the present abortion laws present any real hardship.

To the extent that these forces have taken notice of the existing struggle for abortion law repeal, they have tended to counterpose the demand for 'free abortion on demand' as if in Canada, where there is no province which doesn't have some form of socialized medicine, the main obstacle to women seeking legal abortion is a question of cost. On the contrary, it is the laws, not insurance-paid hospital bills, which force most women to seek illegal or out of country abortions, playing financial and emotional havoc with their lives. To direct the force of the movement elsewhere or blunt its thrust with vague formulations constitutes an evasion of the problem or worse — a sectarian reluctance to participate in the real struggle.

Finally some self criticism is in order for those of us who have attempted to build the abortion movement. Frequently, the campaign has been conceived of too narrowly. The 1972 convention of the Canadian Women's Coalition For Abortion Law Repeal, for instance, abandoned its earlier slogan, "every mother a willing mother; every child a wanted child": a slogan which enabled the movement to reply to the false humanism of 'Right To Lifers'. It also rejected the petition drive which at the time was the most visible way of manifesting opposition to the government. Instead, it seemed to project naive visions of progressively bigger demonstrations and seriously overestimated the breadth of militant feminist sentiment. The result was a campaign which often substituted dedication of its small numbers for a relationship with broader forces receptive to the compelling nature of the issue.

New Possibilities

While we must understand our errors to illuminate the path to victory, we must also take note of our success. In the last period, the abortion campaign, under the pressure of events, has broadened as never before. Women in the NDP are propelling the issue forward. The Waffle has endorsed the campaign. Prominent individuals have taken important initiatives, particularly with the telegram and media

drives to build the movement. Doctors have formed an organization to win repeal. The gay movement has for the first time expressed its solidarity with this issue. New forces in many other areas, are beginning to organize. The repeal movement is growing more numerous and more determined. If the lesson of the past has been that our disunity has opened the door to government attack, these developments are evidence of a renewed impetus on the path towards victory.

Morgentaler and the Abortion Repeal Struggle

Balance sheet on the Repeal Movement

By Alice Klein
from Forward, November 1974)

As Morgentaler's Supreme Court hearing draws to a close, Justice Minister 0tto Lang's crusade to deny women legal abortion is intensifying almost beyond belief.

Lang's direct orders restricting abortion in the North West Territories to virtually nil, and caution(ing) liberal hospital committees to prevent what he sneeringly terms their 'abortion on demand' policies are now crowned by his latest move to block government funds to any agency which provides abortion counseling or referral in the course of its services. He has gone so far as to suggest that abortion referral services may be illegal.

The viciousness of this new attack, coming as it does in the midst of the final round of Morgentaler's lengthy court battle, is cruel testimony to the resolve of the federal government to prevent a repeal victory.

At the same time, Lang's ability to proceed with this offensive is evidence of the relative weakness of the repeal movement.

Repeal activists can only be puzzled by the striking dissimilarity of Canadian events with those in the US which culminated in the Supreme Court victory, overturning US abortion restrictions.

The American repeal movement emerged at the height of the powerful radicalization spurred by the anti-Vietnam war movement which had shaken the American ruling class to its very roots. The fact that the burgeoning women's liberation movement was showing all the vital signs of continuing in the same tradition was a distinct advantage.

Moreover, mixed motives influenced the granting of repeal to the racists who rule the US the rapidly growing third world population in the US was alarming. This made a measure which they saw as contributing to minority population control, seem less offensive.

As well, two aspects of the specifically American revolutionary tradition hastened the victory of repeal in the US. Embedded in the Constitution is the Bill of Rights which was the basis for the legal challenge to the laws. When Morgentaler's defense referred to the contravention of the Canadian Bill of Rights, inherent in our abortion laws, the Supreme Court judge ruled this line of defense irrelevant.

Equally important, the legacy of the American revolution has served to undermine the political power and influence of the Catholic church. The same cannot be said of Canada.

We have been aware from the beginning that in seeking to overturn the abortion laws,

we were confronting head-on the Catholic Church male hierarchy. We recognize that the organizational strength of the 'fetus fetishists' has rested on the ability of the Catholic Church, given its wealth and resources, to influence its followers. It is now clear, however, that the real effectiveness of their campaign has <b>**not** been to swing public opinion against abortion. On the contrary, polls continue to record majority opinion favouring repeal. Rather, we are seeing the capacity of the Catholic Church, through common interest and well-established channels, to influence this country's rulers. Morgentaler's case dramatizes this. While a Québécois and presumably Catholic jury refused to convict him, the Quebec Government hastened to overturn their verdict.

=== START BOX=====
Results of a Gallup poll published October 26, 1974 show 62 percent of Canadians believe abortion should be a decision between a woman and her doctor. Seven percent were undecided.
====END BOX====

This obstacle does not relieve us from reviewing the subjective problems which surround the campaign. After all, the Canadian movement has had the advantage of the NDP's and trade union movement's endorsation of repeal, and above all the compelling example of Henry Morgentaler whose heroic actions have served to provide a focal point of the struggle. Yet the challenge to speak out, to unite behind the movement implicit in Morgentaler's acts, remains to an appalling degree, unfulfilled. Lang's ability to launch an offensive at this point is confirmation of this sad fact.

In part, the weakness of the repeal movement can be accounted for by the impact of Trudeau's liberalization of the law in 1969. Those most likely to be mobilized into the repeal movement, women in urban centers with knowledge of the laws and access to sympathetic doctors and hospital boards where those to whom legal abortion was most readily available; this created the illusion that abortion was not a major problem for the majority of women. This short- sightedness, now shattered by the anti-repeal offensive, was a block to the development of the campaign.

NDP Failure

In addition, while the NDP and the trade union movement have supported repeal, they have, for the most part, done so on paper only. Symbolic of this was the manner in which the NDP carried themselves in the last election. The NDP's central campaign office went so far as to caution their candidates not to raise the abortion issue — fearing controversy that might harm their election effort. The outcome of the election indicates that this approach in no way served their ends. Rather, in spite of the fact that they evaded the issue, 'Right to Life' forces have claimed gloatingly a hand in *(ONDP NDP leader David)* Lewis' defeat.

It appears that Lewis was not the only prominent individual with a reputation as a champion of civil liberties and human rights to be intimidated by the anti-abortion forces. Only lately have a number of prominent humanitarians overcome their blushing hesitancy

to identify themselves with an issue so intimately related to the right of women to control their own reproductive organs.

Women's Movement Default

Ultimately, however, the weakness of the repeal movement can only be accounted for by the weaknesses within the women's movement itself. Because its response to this challenge was such a fractured one, it was unable to lead the recalcitrant humanitarians, the NDP and the trade union movement into the heat of battle. One wing of the movement, convinced that men, not big business were the prime enemy, considered the question of abortion secondary to the task of creating a sub-culture of services and consciousness-raising activities aiming to lessen the weight of male domination through sisterhood and solidarity. While their undertakings have a legitimate place in the women's movement, the failure of this layer of feminists to mobilize themselves at crucial moments in the struggle and their evident hostility towards the abortion campaign were serious impediments to the struggle. One Toronto group even took the absurd position of rationalizing their lack of participation in this struggle by explaining that since Morgentaler was male, he represented the enemy and therefore deserved no support from the women's movement.

Others on the left, blinded by their revolutionary rhetoric, scorned the idea of involving themselves in struggle for a mere reform — a struggle which they felt failed to draw real class lines between bourgeois and working class women. They overlooked the fact that it is only poor and working class women to whom the present abortion laws present any real hardship.

To the extent that these forces have taken notice of the existing struggle for abortion law repeal, they have tended to counterpose the demand for 'free abortion on demand' as if in Canada, where there is no province which doesn't have some form of socialized medicine, the main obstacle to women seeking legal abortion is a question of cost. On the contrary, it is the laws, not insurance-paid hospital bills, which force most women to seek illegal or out of country abortions, playing financial and emotional havoc with their lives. To direct the force of the movement elsewhere or blunt its thrust with vague formulations constitutes an evasion of the problem or worse — a sectarian reluctance to participate in the real struggle.

Finally some self-criticism is in order for those of us who have attempted to build the abortion movement. Frequently, the campaign has been conceived of too narrowly. The 1972 convention of the Canadian Women's Coalition For Abortion Law Repeal, for instance, abandoned its earlier slogan, "every mother a willing mother; every child a wanted child": a slogan which enabled the movement to reply to the false humanism of 'Right To Lifers'. It also rejected the petition drive which at the time was the most visible way of manifesting opposition to the government. Instead, it seemed to project visions of progressively bigger demonstrations and seriously overestimated the breadth of' militant feminist sentiment. The result was a campaign which often substituted dedication of its

small numbers for a relationship with broader forces receptive to the compelling nature of the issue.

New Possibilities

While we must understand our errors to illuminate the path to victory, we must also take note of our success. In the last period, the abortion campaign, under the pressure of events, has broadened as never before. Women in the NDP are propelling the issue forward. The Waffle has endorsed the campaign. Prominent individuals have taken important initiatives, particularly with the telegram and media drives to build the movement. Doctors have formed an organization to win repeal. The gay movement has for the first time expressed its solidarity with this issue. New forces in many other areas, are beginning to organize. The repeal movement is growing more numerous and more determined. If the lesson of the past has been that our disunity has opened the door to government attack, these developments are evidence of a renewed impetus on the path towards victory.

forward #4 NOV 1974

Mass protest rallies 12,000 against Bill 22

In the first major mobilization against Quebec's Bill 22, which purports to make French the "official" language in that province, some 12,000 Quebecois rallied to a "Grande Marche" on the provincial capital on October 19. Called by the MQF (Movement Québec-Français, a coalition of the three major labor federations and various small left nationalist groups), their slogan was "Non au Bill 22, Oui au Québec Français".

Not since the bill was first introduced last May had the increasing sentiment for a French-only policy in the schools and at work been mobilized. During the parliamentary debate last summer, the Parti Québécois leadership threw cold water on its rank's desires to demonstrate, and the MQF limited itself to issuing threatening manifestoes. In late July, a crowd of 3000 demonstrated in an almost spontaneous action in Quebec City as Premier Bourassa cut off debate and shoved the bill through. During this time, parents, students and school commissioners were demonstrating in two Montreal suburbs against attempts to transform French schools into English ones.

Now that the Bill is law, Francophones and Anglophones are waiting to see how its ambiguous terms are to be put into practice. For Bourassa the demonstration was "a monumental flop", but the 15,000 protesters attending a popular concert the same night thought differently. They were addressed by MQF president François-Albert Angers and union leaders Pierre Vadeboncoeur of the CNTU and Fernand Daoust of the QFL. Teachers federation (CEQ) president Yvon Charbonneau called for the creation of "regional vigilance committees" to keep close track of the effects of Bill 22 in future months. Also supporting the action were many luminaries of the PQ, including president René Lévesque, a notorious foe of labor street actions.

Bill 22 attempts to mollify the scandal caused by the effects of Bill 63. This bill saw an increasing flow of immigrant and Francophone children toward English schools. Bill 22 attempts to rectify the situation by obliging all non-Anglophone immigrants to enroll in French schools, thus curtailing the right of parents to choose language of school instruction, established by Bill 63.

continued on page 7

BILL 22...

continued from page 3

With the PQ a growing electoral force, the Liberals are also under pressure to promote French as the language of work, a key element in growing independentist sentiment.

Anglophone opposition to the bill in Quebec is based on the false claim that the bill is "discriminatory" against them — in fact, the rights of the English language are codified explicitly to the degree that English emerges as "official" a language as French.

A group of Montreal lawyers under Frank Scott, ex-Dean of law at McGill, and the Quebec Association of Protestant School Boards are preparing to challenge the constitutionality of Bill 22. Prime Minister Trudeau, who has stated he welcomes the court challenge, is quoted as saying he thinks the "ensemble" of the law will stand up in court. He, however, favors complete freedom of choice by parents in the language of education, indicating that he is not against amputating the key defensive feature of the bill as regards the Francophone majority.

forward #4 Nov 1974

Ottawa Caravan sets new stage for Indian movement

By Dale Ritch

The struggle of Canada's Native People for justice and equal rights has received a powerful stimulus from the events of the past month. A Caravan of 60 Indians left Vancouver on September 15 and traveled across the country, holding meetings and press conferences in all the major population centers.

The purpose of the Caravan, organized by the Cache Creek Band and the Ojibway Warriors Society, was to publicize the plight of Native People and organize opposition to the repressive policies of the government. The Caravan's demands included the call for better housing, the restoration of "aboriginal" rights, the settlement of territorial claims, and the release of native 'political' prisoners.

The Caravan culminated in a mass demonstration of four hundred Indians and supporters on September 30 at Ottawa. The march was set to coincide with the opening of Parliament.

The government's response to the demonstration was to refuse to speak to the marchers because they weren't 'elected' leaders of the Native People. When the demonstrators grew impatient and frustrated at this display of arrogance, 300 RCMP riot police, equipped with helmets, shields, riot sticks and tear gas charged into the assembled crowd, injuring 20 and arresting 15.

The crude display of violence by the Mounties on Parliament Hill was a reminder to all Canadian Indians of the treatment accorded them by the RCMP every day on the reserves and in the cities.

After the demonstration, several organizations including the Native Indian Brotherhood, NIB (official representative of Canada's 300,000 status Indians), the Canadian Federation of Civil Liberties and Human Rights, called for an independent, and public enquiry into the violence. They charged that police had provoked the violence. Vern Harper, Metis leader and participant in the demonstration, said afterwards: "We didn't want violence. I had my wife and five of my children up there. But one thing the Queen's cowboys did — they gave all Native Peoples a unity that day on Parliament Hill."

The militant actions which preceded the Caravan, the highway blockade in Cache Creek B.C. and the occupation of Anisinabe Park in Kenora, have served to spur a much broader mobilization of the Native People. Wally Firth, NDP MP from the North-West Territories and an Indian himself, shows the pressure on the more traditional Indian leaders to support the militant stance of leaders such as Louis Cameron (Ojibway Warriors Society) and Chief Ken Basil (Cache Creek band). Firth, appalled by the Ottawa violence, commented: "Who sets the stage for violence, the government or the Indians?" The Indian Caravan was met "by men with big sticks, hard hats and clubbing — what kind of mentality is that?"

These actions have also had an immediate effect on the government, contrary to Trudeau's slander that the government will "never negotiate under threat of violence." On October 10 it was announced that Indian people would have direct access to the cabinet, thus bypassing the bureaucrats in the Department of Indian Affairs. NIB President George Manuel told reporters that he credited the Native People's Caravan for breaking down "the gatekeeper's role played by the civil service." Later in October, the government, embarrassed by a follow-up occupation of an empty federal building by Caravan supporters, changed its previous decision and offered to pay the fare back home for the occupiers.

The actions of the past period indicate a new stage of organization and a new level of struggle in the Indian movement. For the first time, there has been a successful attempt to unify the movement on a national basis. The Caravan received support from all sections of Canada. Inspiring also, was the participation of all peoples of Indian descent: treaty, non-status, and Metis. This support cut across the artificial divisions imposed by the government to divide the movement. Significantly, the Caravan was financed and organized totally by the Indians and their supporters. It is essential that the movement preserve its independence from the government in this manner.

The most important lesson to be learned from the Caravan is that only the Indian people themselves can lead the struggle to end the racism and injustice that have been perpetrated on them by a capitalist society intent on genocide. The road forward for the Indian movement lies in independent political actions, actions which can mobilize the entire Indian community and educate receptive elements in the non-Indian population.

Mounties attacking a demonstration on Parliament hill on September 30 organized by the Native People's Caravan. Several Indians were badly hurt.

What strategy for socialists?

forward

#H Nov 1974

Waffle faces impasse

By Ellie Kirzner

Its been two eventful years since the Waffle jubilantly proclaimed that a movement was born. With this response to the demands of the Ontario NDP leadership that they disband, the Waffle struck out on its own.

Having pioneered the relationship of Canadian nationalism to the socialist struggle and having developed nationally recognized spokespeople for its politics, the Waffle sailed out of the Party riding high on the radicalization. And in many ways its long list of activities and publications since it severed relations with the NDP have been inspiring. Besides the contribution it has made in generating research on the Canadian political economy, it has walked many picket lines, sponsored important lecture series, started a journal, **North Country**, and popularized the concept of nationalization as a solution to the energy crisis.

Most significantly, the Waffle has moved to define itself as distinct from social democracy, considering itself Marxist and setting as its task the construction of a party capable of leading a socialist transformation. While this process of ideological clarification rests incomplete until Waffle locates itself in relation to the debates in the international proletarian movement — Trotsky vs. Stalin, Maoism, etc., nonetheless Waffle has begun to debate the great questions of the class struggle.

New Problems

As a result of this new sophistication, the Waffle now confronts a new set of problems. No longer merely a loose caucus, no longer a Fabian lecture society, the Waffle faces the awesome challenge that confronts other groups on the left — the overcoming of the dangerous isolation between themselves and the working class. For the Waffle this problem has always been fraught with ambivalencies. Because of its development within a mass political party, the NDP, and because it spoke to the popular issue of American imperialist domination, the Waffle was blessed from its inception with a mass audience.

And yet, born with a silver spoon in its mouth, the Waffle is now having difficulty evading the fact of its small membership. Relative to its aspirations towards mass party status and despite moderately successful election campaigns, Waffle has recently ceased to grow either in number or breadth. No influx of trade union militants has graced Waffle membership rolls despite repeated forays into class struggle activity. For, when all was said and done about the bureaucratic efforts of the NDP leadership to expel the Waffle, it still remained evident that even the most militant wing of the workers' movement remained loyal to the Party it conceived as its own. The albatros around Waffle's neck was after all, not the NDP leadership, but the tenacious loyalty of the politically sophisticated layers of the working class to the Party itself.

Misinterprets NDP

The Waffle's understandable resentment of the NDP leadership has unfortunately governed its strategical considerations proving once again that ire is no substitutte for political insight. Declaring the NDP the "left wing of imperialism" and the handmaiden of the right-wing of the US labour bureaucracy, Waffle is naively pitting its small forces against a labor party of hundreds of thousands. Moreover, the bitter irony is that the NDP leadership made it difficult for the Waffle to wade in the broad milieu of disenchanted socialist NDPers by demonstrating its facility for articulating the concerns of the radicalization. The two federal elections after the Waffle's exit saw Lewis' famous attacks on corporate rip-offs and profit gouging, campaigns that powerfully reflected the emerging class contestation and were perfumed with nationalist rhetoric.

But more fundamental is the Waffle's misreading of the nature of the NDP — its social base, and its structural components. Far from being the party of the American trade union bureaucracy, the NDP is built on the affiliation of union locals and counts among its staunchest supporters Canadian unions like CBRT and CUPE. Furthermore the existence of a labor party in Canada, it must be recognized, stands as an objective threat to the American labor brass who lives in peace among the bourgeoisie in the Democratic Party, a fact made glaringly clear by the American Steel bureaucracy's opposition to USWA affiliation to the NDP.

Finally the uncomfortable truth of the matter, as the voting patterns show, is that the NDP as the symbol of the class alternative in the political arena, is ahead of the working class. It is this which explains, in part, the cautious nature of the NDP leadership as it bends and swerves to adapt to the current level of consciousness of the class.

For the Waffle to take advantage of this life line to the masses of Canadians would not signal the abandonment of revolutionary politics for reformist ones, but the substitution of transitional politics for useless ultimatums. This penchant for orchestrating their popular and timely proposals into a crescendo of unrealistic ultimatums was no where more evident than in the Waffle's intervention in the last CLC convention. Here, speaking to the widely-supported issue of autonomy in the Canadian trade union movement, Waffle nullified its own efforts by tying the issue to a proposal for severing the trade unions from the NDP.

But while their position on the NDP most dramatizes their lack of a transitional strategy, other of their political habits point to the same problem. For a small group on the left — even one which like Waffle is larger than most, the necessity for joint actions with other organizations guarantees an influence far beyond its own ranks. The hostile attitude with which Waffle approaches work with other groups betrays a narrow conception of how an organization grows. It's failure to participate as an organization in day care struggles, abortion campaigns, defense actions on Chile, etc. has been noticeable, suggesting a sectarian disdain for activities not totally under its own control. Organizations which live in glass cages can't expand, for adherents are won in the broad struggles of the radicalization, not in lecture halls.

No Two-Stage Theory

It is not excluded that the lack of a transitional strategy may also be reflected in some of the shortcomings of Waffle nationalism. Some have slandered the Waffle, charging them with a two stage concept of the transition to socialism, patently ignoring Waffle's very birth in oppostion to the pro-capitalist Committee for an Independant Canada, and the class collaboration of the Communist Party. If there is anything which has made the Waffle a household word it is its very manner of intertwining socialism and independence. And yet, the criticism has touched a raw nerve, for the Waffle displays strange ambiguities in some of its formulations on the national question.

On the cultural question, for example, Waffle expresses in its election literature the need for

→P.2

Canadian magazines and publications, with no mention or analysis of their class content. A transitional approach would lead to the call for a mass labor paper produced by the trade unions.

Current Impasse

Rather than demonstrating a two stage theory, this example shows that the Waffle has not yet mastered the resolution of the minimum-maximum program polarization developed by German social democracy. This concept led to the erratic formulation of socialist proposals — alternating between "impossibilist" demands on the one hand, and purely reformist demands on the other. Striving to acquire a base in the worker's radicalization, the precise layer most prone to support the NDP, Waffle feels the pressure to soften its programme. That legitimacy which would acrue to Waffle if it identified with the NDP, it attempts to acquire through ambiguities in its program.

The de-industrialization thesis — the strategy of American imperialism to de-industrialize Canada and convert it into a resource base, while having no decisive indicators to prove its worth, generates a sense of impending catastrophe which the Waffle uses as part of the same attempt to find a short cut to the working class. The social crisis apocalypse of de-industrialization looming on the horizon, Waffle

reasons, will undercut the loyalty of the working class to the NDP. Rather than starting from the concrete consciousness of the workers, or the tensions in the struggle, they pin their entire strategy on a prognosis — a speculative one at that.

Subjective Problems

No doubt, fed on disappointment over its lack of growth, the Waffle currently is undergoing its most ferocious internal debate, but not unfortunately its most meaningful. Subsequent to the federal election, groupings emerged which felt that the Waffle election appeal had been insufficiently revolutionary and overly nationalist. They also made some legitimate criticisms of the undemocratic internal life of the Waffle.

Almost totally unrelated to the concrete problems of the class struggle, the debate has exploded into two factions neither of which can answer for the Waffle's disintegrating base. The confrontation appears to revolve around the Waffle's self-definition — are they nationalist socialists or socialist nationalists. By focusing on this minute distinction rather than on program, the debate is rendered abstract and in the end probably unresolvable.

It is just this ethereal nature of the debate that has generated such intense bitterness — charges of class collaboration and elitism on one side, counter charges of anti-nationalism and American left imperialism on the other.

The most momentous result of the contestation might be the permanent splintering of an important socialist group.

The Waffle has made many contributions to socialist theory and practice in Canada. But it also has a lot to learn. In particular it has to draw on the rich experiences of the last century in the international Marxist movement — among them the labor party and a transitional method of relating to it.

Maurice Spector, pioneer Canadian socialist, on the national question

forward
#4 Nov 1974

By Gary O'Brien

The following article by Gary O'Brien stems from his recently completed M.A. thesis at Carleton University, Ottawa, on Maurice Spector and the Origins of Canadian Trotskyism. We print it as a contribution to the history of the Canadian revolutionary socialist movement.

The status of the Canadian state and the question of nationalism have never been satisfactorily settled by the Canadian Left. Varied images have been drawn ranging from the portrayal of Canada as an underdeveloped colony of the Third World, to a fully developed and autonomous imperialist state. Because factional and tactical conflict has often replaced concrete analysis, grave errors have been (and still are being) committed and revolutionary will is still being substituted for the historical process. The abuse of the national question has nften led to a failure of the Left tn use it to its potential in mobilizing Canadian workers against the exploitation and oppression of which they are the primary victims.

The national question was not born with the Watkins Report in 1968, but has been a burning issue for socialists since the 1920's. Given the present controversy among the Left, and particularly among Trotskyists, it may be instructive to review what one of Canada's most eminent socialists, the first Trotskyist on the North American continent and he founder of the Canadian movement, had to say on the question. Providing us with certain guidelines and trends of thought, such a review lends a historical perspective to the issue; this could be useful in making future studies, strategies and tactics.

For Maurice Spector, who until his expulsion in 1928 was the national chairman of the Communist Party of Canada (CPC), its recognized theoretical leader and honored as the first North American member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, the national question was the most important political issue during the 1920's. In 1925 'Canadian Independence' was made the Party's central political slogan.

National Question Central

Canada was characterized as a 'colony', but not in the sense of being a member of the underdeveloped colonial world. Spector was wary of the term 'colony' for it has misleading connotations: he considered his views to be completely in harmony with Lenin's, whom he noted had written in his study **Imperialism**: "Once we are speaking of colonial policy, in the period of capitalist-imperialism, it is indispensible to note that finance capital and its international policy, which resolves itself into the struggle of the great powers for the economic and political division of the world, gives rise to a number of transitional forms of state dependence. And the division into two principal groups of countries — possessors of colonies and colonized areas — is not sufficient to characterize the period. It is necessary to take into account the various kinds of dependence of countries which are politically independent in form but are surrounded in reality with a fine network of financial and diplomatic bonds."

Spector pointed out that Canadian society had been the product of uneven and combined development. While in the 1890's Canada's leading exports had been primarily agricultural products, by the 1920's manufacturing had increased

→p.2

HOT OFF THE PRESS!

For a Free Independent Soviet Ukraine!

Three articles by LEON TROTSKY

Only 75¢ (Postage Paid) from
FORWARD BOOKS
85 King St. East, Toronto

Maurice Spector (right) makes a point with (from left) William Moriarty, Tim Buck and Jack MacDonald in the early days of the Communist Party. Spector and MacDonald later became Trotskyists.

greatly in importance and industry had appeared rapidly in its concentrated form. As early as 1910, the federal government had been so concerned about the increased capitalization of industry that it had introduced a bill to curb monopolies. By the late 1920's, Canada was exporting not only over half a billion dollars worth of manufactured goods, but also $70 million worth of capital per year.

Yet while such development put Canada in the lists of 'advanced countries', pre-capitalist relationships lingered. The agricultural sector was still larger than the industrial. Farmers were still of such economic importance they could win a parliamentary majority in three of the provinces, including Ontario, during the 1920's. Most important, the ownership of much of industry remained with British and American capitalists, hindering the emergence of a powerful national bourgeoisie. Constitutionally, Canada was still subordinate to Britain, was without the right to declare war and peace or to be the final arbitrator of her legal system.

Canadian Nationalism Progressive

For Spector, it did matter to workers "whether the country in which they carry on their struggle for freedom from wage slavery is a colony or whether it has achieved its complete sovereignty" — for workers were vitally affected by the regime of the British North America Act (BNA). Breaking the Imperial connection would mean an end to the use of Canadians as 'cannon-fodder' for British wars, as in 1914-17. It would also mean re-writing the BNA Act which, by assigning jurisdiction of social legislation to the provinces but keeping control of criminal law centralized, permitted the federal government to be used "against the Labor movement whenever it suits it". It also raised the hope of abolishing the Senate which had killed J.S. Woodsworth's bill for old age pensions.

The national question was important not only to Canadian workers but also to the oppressed masses of the British Empire. Britain, weakened by World War I and rapidly losing industrial hegemony to the US needed the military and financial support of her Dominions to keep the shaky Empire together. Given the increased industrialization of Canada and the ensuing mood of independence in her bourgeoisie (witnessed by Mackenzie King's refusal to support Britain on Turkey in 1922), Spector perceived that the British Empire contained within itself "the seeds of its own destruction" and that "Canada, at the present time, is one of the weak links in the chain of the Empire". Through independence, if she could break that link, the entire Empire would collapse, freeing not only the colonies from imperialism but setting off a revolution in Britain itself.

Immediately following Spector's expulsion, the new CPC leadership, on direct orders from the Stalinized Comintern, disowned the slogan of 'Canadian Independence' as counter-revolutionary and charged that Spector had regarded Canadian capitalists as an oppressed bourgeoisie who had a revolutionary role to play and that he had urged the Party to "remain silent upon the question of proletarian revolution". Such accusations were utterly false. At no time did Spector approach the national question believing Canadian capitalists were anti-imperialist or that socialists must postpone revolutionary activity until national independence was achieved.

Given the fact that Spector had protested Stalin's characterization of Chiang Kai-shek as anti-imperialist and had anticipated the Russian Left Opposition's criticisms of the Comintern's disastrous policy in China five months before Leon Trotsky himself, it was hardly likely Spector would wish to repeat such erroneous policies in his own country. Spector emphasized that a "capitalist independent Canada is not much better than a capitalist colony", and made it clear that "if we oppose British imperialism, we are equally opposed to American and Canadian capitalism". Even in the 1926 election in which King sought support against Governor-General Byng's refusal to grant him the right to dissolve Parliament, Spector, in the headlines of the CPC's election manifesto, urged workers to "Keep Class Issue Clear and Vote Labor—Liberals and Conservatives Are Tools of Vested Interest—Country is Ruled by Dictatorship of Bankers and Manufacturers".

Canada Weak Link

Spector was looking however to exacerbate the conflict among British, American and Canadian capitalists. He supported a national flag for Canada, on the grounds that "Any national movement that will help liquidate this British Empire deserves the support of the working class. Flags may be the symbols of such movements. The replacement of the imperialist flag by the national flag would weaken the imperialist foe and speed the day when the Red Flag of working class internationalism would replace the flags of nationalism."

There was danger, however, in over-exaggerating the importance of intra-bourgeois conflict, a danger Spector was well aware of. With the Liberals' tentative support in 1927 for sending Canadian troops to China to bolster British imperialism there, it was clear that Canadian capitalists only aspired to be partners of imperialist ventures and were not interested in national independence. As Spector wrote: "But, for an independent tariff policy, a free hand in exploitation of the workers at home, commercial treaty-making power, diplomatic representation and a seat on the League of Nations, the Dominion bourgeoisie do not need secession. An alliance with British Imperialism is enough . . . . The fight of workers and farmers of Canada against the imperialist war danger must therefore be aimed against the Canadian bourgeoisie as a joint partner of British imperialism."

For Maurice Spector, then, Canadian nationalism was a progressive force since it was both anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist. National sovereignty was not just an academic question but was "bound up vitally with the everyday problems of the class struggle in Canada, whether these struggles are over questions of imperialist war, social legislation or the status of their trade union movement".

Spector was willing to participate with other leftist groups on the national question, such as J.S. Woodsworth's Independent Labor Party (ILP), which also voiced opposition to British imperialism and Canada's involvement in foreign wars. He also supported the creation of the All-Canadian Congress of Labor, as well as those fighting for more autonomy within the American Federation of Labor-controlled Trades and Labor Congress. He did not consider Canadian nationalism 'chauvinist' but rather a transitional stage to true working class internationalism.

With Spector's expulsion, the CPC commenced its zig-zag approach to the class struggle in Canada. Canada was no longer deemed a colony but rather a fully developed capitalist country where all the characteristics of imperialism defined by Lenin, with the sole exception of the possession of colonies, were found. The Anglo-American presence in Canadian society was seen as having no effect on the course of the proletarian revolution. Canada was chiefly an exporter of manufactured goods and was fighting America and Britain for markets in Latin America and the Pacific. In the latter '30's, in its Popular Front days, the CPC went completely the other way, characterizing Canada as a colony in which workers must ally with sections of the 'progressive bourgeoisie' to ensure the supremacy of 'democratic' and 'anti-imperialist' forces within Canada. How Canada suddenly lost her imperialist characteristics in so short a time has never been explained.

Contrasting Spector's stand with both analyses made by the CPC under Stalin's guidance and their disastrous consequences for Canadian workers, there is no doubt his was more consistent with Canadian reality. Based on concrete analysis and not factional conflict, Spector approached the national question from both a Canadian and world orientation, and attempted to forge transitional slogans which corresponded to the socio-economic situation of Canadian society at the time. His methods and findings should be noted by all Canadian socialists of today.

Maurice Spector, pioneer Canadian socialist, on the national question

By Gary O'Brien

from Forward*, November 1974)*

The following article by Gary O'Brien stems from his recently completed M.A. thesis at Carleton University, Ottawa, on 'Maurice Spector and the Origins of Canadian Trotskyism.' We print it as a contribution to the history of the Canadian revolutionary socialist movement.

The status of the Canadian state and the question of nationalism have never been satisfactorily settled by the Canadian Left. Varied images have been drawn ranging from the portrayal of Canada as an underdeveloped colony of the Third World, to a fully developed and autonomous imperialist state.

Because factional and tactical conflict has often replaced concrete analysis, grave errors have been (and still are being) committed and revolutionary will is still being substituted for the historical process. The abuse of the national question has often led to a failure of the Left to use it to its potential in mobilizing Canadian workers against the exploitation and oppression of which they are the primary victims.

The national question was not born with the Watkins Report in 1968, but has been a burning issue for socialists since the 1920's. Given the present controversy among the Left, and particularly among Trotskyists, it may be instructive to review what one of Canada's most eminent socialists, the first Trotskyist on the North American-continent and the founder of the Canadian movement, had to say on the question. Providing us with certain guidelines and trends of thought, such a review lends a historical perspective to the issue; this could be useful in making future studies, strategies and tactics.

For Maurice Spector, who until his expulsion in 1928 was the national chairman of the Communist Party of Canada (CPC), its recognized theoretical leader and honored as the first North American member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, the national question was the most important political issue during the 1920's. In 1925 'Canadian Independence' was made the Party's central political slogan.

National Question Central

Canada was characterized as a 'colony', but not in the sense of being a member of the underdeveloped colonial world. Spector was wary of the term 'colony' for it has misleading connotations: he considered his views to be completely in harmony with Lenin's, whom he noted had written in his study *Imperialism* : "Once we are speaking of colonial policy, in the period of capitalist-imperialism, it is indispensable to note that finance capital and its international policy, which resolves itself into the struggle of the great powers for the economic and political division of the world, gives rise to a number of transitional forms of state dependence. And the division into two principal groups of countries — possessors of colonies and colonized areas — is not sufficient to characterize

the period. It is necessary to take into account the various kinds of dependence of countries which are politically independent in form but are surrounded in reality with a fine network of financial and diplomatic bonds."

Spector pointed out that Canadian society had been the product of uneven and combined development. While in the 1890's Canada's leading exports had been primarily agricultural products, by the 1920's manufacturing had increased greatly in importance and industry had appeared rapidly in its concentrated form. As early as 1910, the federal government had been so concerned about the increased capitalization of industry that it had introduced a bill to curb monopolies. By the late 1920's, Canada was exporting not only over half a billion dollars worth of manufactured goods, but also $70 million worth of capital per year.

Yet while such development put Canada in the lists of 'advanced countries', pre-capitalist relationships lingered. The agricultural sector was still larger than the industrial. Farmers were still of such economic importance they could win a parliamentary majority in three of the provinces including Ontario, during the 1920's. Most important, the ownership of much of industry remained with British and American capitalists, hindering the emergence of a powerful national bourgeoisie. Constitutionally, Canada was still subordinate to Britain, was without the right to declare war and peace or to be the final arbitrator of her legal system.

Canadian Nationalism Progressive

For Spector, it did matter to workers "whether the country in which they carry on their struggle for freedom from wage slavery is a colony or whether it has achieved its complete sovereignty" — for workers were vitally affected by the regime of the British North America Act (BNA). Breaking the Imperial connection would mean an end to the use of Canadians as 'cannon-fodder' for British wars, as in 1914-17. It would also mean re-writing the BNA Act which, by assigning jurisdiction of social legislation to the provinces but keeping control of criminal law centralized, permitted the federal government to be used "against the Labor movement whenever it suits it". It also raised the hope of abolishing the Senate which had killed J.S. Woodsworth's bill for old age pensions. *(Woodsworth was a founder of the CCF in 1933 --ed.)*

The national question was important not only to Canadian workers but also to the oppressed masses of the British Empire. Britain, weakened by World War I and rapidly losing industrial hegemony to the US needed the military and financial support of her Dominions to keep the shaky Empire together. Given the increased industrialization of Canada and the ensuing mood of independence in her bourgeoisie (witnessed by Mackenzie King's refusal to support Britain on Turkey in 1922), Spector perceived that the British Empire contained within itself "the seeds of its own destruction" and that "Canada, at the present time, is one of the weak links in the chain of the Empire". Through independence, if she could break that link, the entire Empire would collapse, freeing not only the colonies from imperialism but setting off a revolution in Britain itself.

Immediately following Spector's expulsion, the new CPC leadership, on direct orders from the Stalinized Comintern, disowned the slogan of 'Canadian Independence' as counter-revolutionary and charged that Spector had regarded Canadian capitalists as an oppressed bourgeoisie who had a revolutionary role to play and that he had urged the Party to "remain silent upon the question of proletarian revolution." Such accusations were utterly false. At no time did Spector approach the national question believing Canadian capitalists were anti-imperialist or that socialists must postpone revolutionary activity until national independence was achieved.

Given the fact that Spector had protested Stalin's characterization of Chiang Kai-shek as anti-imperialist and had anticipated the Russian Left Opposition's criticisms of the Comintern's disastrous policy in China five months before Leon Trotsky himself, it was hardly likely Spector would wish to repeat such erroneous policies in his own country. Spector emphasized that a "capitalist independent Canada is not much better than a capitalist colony", and made it clear that "if we oppose British imperialism, we are equally opposed to American and Canadian capitalism". Even in the 1926 election in which King sought support against Governor-General Byng's refusal to grant him the right fo dissolve Parliament, Spector, in the headlines of the CPC's election manifesto, urged workers to "Keep Class Issue Clear and Vote Labor—Liberals and Conservatives Are Tools of Vested Interest—Country is Ruled by Dictatorship of Bankers and Manufacturers".

Canada Weak Link

Spector was looking however to exacerbate the conflict among British, American and Canadian capitalists. He supported a national flag for Canada, on the grounds that "Any national movement that will help liquidate this British Empire deserves the support of the working class. Flags may be the symbols of such movements. The replacement of the imperialist flag by the national flag would weaken the imperialist foe and speed the day when the Red Flag of working class internationalism would replace the flags of nationalism."

There was danger, however, in over-exaggerating the importance of intra-bourgeois conflict, a danger Spector was well aware of. With the Liberals' tentative support in 1927 for sending Canadian troops to China to bolster British imperialism there, it was clear that Canadian capitalists only aspired to be partners of imperialist ventures and were not interested in national independence. As Spector wrote: “But, for an independent tariff policy, a free hand in exploitation of the workers at home, commercial treaty-making power, diplomatic representation and a seat on the League of Nations, the Dominion bourgeoisie do not need secession.

An alliance with British Imperialism is enough .... The fight of workers and farmers of Canada against the imperialist war danger must therefore be aimed against the Canadian bourgeoisie as a joint partner of British imperialism."

For Maurice Spector, then, Canadian nationalism was a progressive force since it was both anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist. National sovereignty was not just an academic question but was "bound up vitally with the everyday problems of the class struggle in Canada, whether these struggles are over questions of imperialist war, social legislation or the status of their trade union movement."

Spector was willing to participate with other leftist groups on the national question, such as J.S. Woodsworth's Independent Labor Party (ILP), which also **voiced opposition** to British imperialism and Canada's involvement in foreign wars. He also supported the creation of the All-Canadian Congress of Labor, as well as those fighting for more autonomy within the American Federation of Labor-controlled Trades and Labor Congress. He did not consider Canadian nationalism 'chauvinist' but rather a transitional stage to true working class internationalism.

With Spector's expulsion, the CPC commenced its zig-zag approach to the class struggle in Canada. Canada was no longer deemed a colony but rather a fully developed capitalist country where all the characteristics of imperialism defined by Lenin, with the sole exception of the possession of colonies, were found. The Anglo-American presence in Canadian society was seen as having no effect on the course of the proletarian revolution.

Canada was chiefly an exporter of manufactured goods and was fighting America and Britain for markets in Latin America and the Pacific. In the latter '30s, in its Popular Front days, the CPC went completely the other way, characterizing Canada as a colony in which workers must ally with sections of the 'progressive bourgeoisie' to ensure the supremacy of 'democratic' and 'anti-imperialist' forces within Canada. How Canada suddenly lost her imperialist characteristics in so short a time has never been explained.

Contrasting Spector's stand with both analyses made by the CPC under Stalin's guidance and their disastrous consequences for Canadian workers, there is no doubt his was more consistent with Canadian reality. Based on concrete analysis and not factional conflict, Spector approached the national question from both a Canadian and world orientation, and attempted to forge transitional slogans which corresponded to the socio-economic situation of Canadian society at the time. His methods and findings should be noted by all Canadian socialists of today.

(Found in 1974-Dec.)
NB. Regula Modlich (A)
Myer Shapiro (B)

PRESIDENT ARCHER: Delegate on 4.

DELEGATE REGLA MODLICH: Take 5 first . . . I'd like you to take 5 because she's the mover. . .

PRESIDENT ARCHER: I gave you on 4 the chance to speak and if you don't take it, you'll lose it.

(A) DELEGATE MODLICH: I was just being democratic. Any way I'd like to make three points why I think this resolution is extremely important to be endorsed. Firstly, I think it is very important that we realize what the women that Dr. Morgentaler has helped were facing, what alternatives they had. We're not talking about women who can look at their happy children in their homes, we're talking about those tens of thousands of women who are alone, emotionally and materially unready, unable to create decent and happy motherhood and childhood, and that's who Morgentaler has helped. The alternatives were open of legal abortion, but in Montreal we know, the Catholic Hospital Boards very, very rarely have an Abortion Board. The women otherwise had to pretend insanity — what humiliation. The red tape that is involved in legal abortions is so tedious that often it becomes too late to actually go through with legal abortion. The second alternative of course is to go to quacks and risk death or permanent injury. The third alternative is enforced motherhood, an unwanted child, the most cruel experience for a woman. And to those who speak of murder, this fate that faces two human beings is worse than death. So I think this is clearly a denial of those basic human rights, that of controlling ones own body and life. To talk of punishment or contraception at this juncture is most primitive, misplaced and chauvinist cynicism.

I think I'd also like to stress the importants of the Trade Union Movement to support this resolution. Only the widest possible support can help Dr. Morgentaler from prison and life imprisonment possibly. All kinds of groups have already endorsed the defence, and Dr. Morgentaler has helped so many women that I think now it's our turn, and in the Trade Union Movement are a growing number of women. What are the consequences if Dr. Morgentaler gets convicted; apart from affecting his life, women will again be denied help. Other Doctors will be afraid to provide help, and we will be placed back into greater bondage and submission. Some think the likes of Trudeau seem to favour — they want to keep women from the job market, from the unemployment list. They want to keep women from harassing the big business supporters with our ever increasing confidence in our struggle for equal pay and better positions. Most of all however, it has always been only such groups as the Trade Unions and the NDP that have been ready to take a stand and action in defence of human justice and rights and dignity. Therefore I support and ask you to support the resolution.

DELEGATE . . . . : Brother Chairman, I think also it would have been an excellent tactic for you to accept the mover of the motion to speak first, but nevertheless I think, Brother Chairman, the fact is that abortion is already a right in Canada for the rich. That's what we're talking about. The rich have established the right to have abortions because they've got the money and they can buy the aircraft ticket and they can get their wives or their girl friends or their sweethearts or whatever, they have the money to solve the problem by exporting the problem overseas or New York State. You know the Supreme Court of the United States came out in favour of abortion, and they said it was a woman's right. And I think that is the way it should be. There's no reason why anyone should have to have a child that they don't want, especially the women and there's no reason why . . . yes the men have them too, you know. I have four children of my own, and I wouldn't part with them, but that doesn't mean that I don't think there could be mistakes. There's all kinds of unfortunate situations developed and because of a bad tradition, some people think that we should be stuck with one mistake. You don't correct one mistake by making another, and why should we have unhappy unwanted children. Every mother a willing mother and every child a wanted child. I think that should be the formula of the Labour Movement.

PRESIDENT ARCHER: Delegate on 6.

DELEGATE BILL O'ROURKE, LOCAL 220, SERVICE EMPLOYEES: Mr. Chairman, Brothers and Sisters, like our Chairman said yesterday, I am speaking as a matter of conscience. I do not want to get involved in Lib Movements and Women's Rights and all this sort of thing. But I would like to say, Mr. Chairman and Brothers and Sisters, this is my first convention, and we all come here with high hopes to further the Labour Movement. However I feel we are being maliciously sidetracked and are bogging down on things that have no place here. Let us not be taken away from what we are here for, to better the Labour Movement. Abortion is a moral question. It is very very close to many of us. I feel it has no place at this convention. I know for a fact in the last provincial election, the question of abortion split the NDP right down the middle. I feel it practically lost the election for them, or at least it lost many, many seats for them. I feel this question should be settled in the conscience of people, and we cannot legislate it or anything else. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

DELEGATE MARIAN ALATAS, OPEIU LOCAL 343: First of all in reply to the last speaker, we wish it was a moral issue, but at the moment you can hardly call it a moral issue since it is in the Criminal Code. As the initiator of this resolution, I want to give you some details of the background of Dr. Morgentaler's case, because there's been very little coverage in the English press. I would refer you to a leaflet that was put around yesterday afternoon which gives you some of the background.

Dr. Henry Morgentaler is a Montreal physician who is currently being tried on the first of thirteen charges under the abortion section of the Criminal Code. He first started to agitate for a repeal of the abortion laws when he was President of the Humanist Association of Canada, and as a result of this many women, realizing that here was a sympathetic doctor, came to him, hoping that he would be able to help them. At first he explained to them that he was unable to do so, because of the law, and then eventually realized that his conscience would no longer allow him to turn away the women that came to him in despair, knowing that they might resort to aborting themselves dangerously or ending up in the hands of quacks. Dr. Morgentaler himself says that he does not consider himself to be a criminal. In fact he considers the law under which he is being tried to be criminal and unjust to women. At the moment we are awaiting the outcome of the trial on the first charge, but whatever that outcome, the fight is just beginning. And the strongest possible campaign is needed in order to save Morgentaler, both from life imprisonment. He has already spent five years in the concentration camps of Auslitz and Dachau, and also to secure women's rights to choose whether or not to bear a child. I would urge you, therefore to join with your Brothers and Sisters of the Toronto and District Labour Council Executive and of the Quebec Federation of Labour and to endorse and pass this resolution supporting a very brave and principled man.

DELEGATE MARION CUSICK, LOCAL 79, CUPE: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I also support this resolution and the previous speaker, but I don't think it goes far enough. I think we need more education to prevent children which would prevent so many abortions and save women's lives and their mental stability. The abortion may solve one problem, but it creates more problems than it solves. Thank you.

(B) DELEGATE SHAPIRO, POSTAL EMPLOYEES: On this resolution of the defence of Henry Morgentaler, we also had him up in a debate at the Labour Council about a year ago and I'm quite impressed about what he had to say. I don't think it's a question of a moral issue, because under the Criminal Code you can't have an abortion, and there are several hospitals here in the City of Toronto where no staff doctors are allowed even to consider it, even if the person had the money for an abortion. So it resolves down to the question where a rich

person can go to New York City and get a doctor and pay all kinds of money to have an abortion, but any working class person, a woman who needs an abortion is confronted with the fact that they can't afford it, because they haven't got the money to go to the States or get some doctor that they might find that's sympathetic to get them into the hospital and the cost is prohibitive to them. I think what we need is to get more unions to really get behind this. I know in our Local when this matter is raised as a resolution to our National Convention, a lot of the members didn't understand and didn't agree that abortion was an issue, and I think we've got to educate the union members and we've got to change the Criminal Code, make this a real live issue and see to it that working class can get abortions and defend Henry Morgentaler.

DELEGATE BILL WOODS, LOCAL 208, CANADIAN FOOD AND ALLIED WORKERS: I rise here principally as a matter of conscience, but I can't see us as a body here who are the defenders of the downtrodden to go along with this. Also if the women who have spoken only realized that 50% of these fetus that are destroyed are women, and that should be a point to be looked at. If we go along with this wholesale murder, I might just give as one illustration, the McMaster Hospital in Hamilton that was set up committed to my knowledge over 100 abortions before one live baby was born. I think that's a sad commentary. And if we, who are traditionally the defenders of the downtrodden should rise in support of these unborn children. That's all I have to say.

DELEGATE EDWIN RICHARDS, LOCAL 1963, CARPENTERS: Mr. Chairman, I want to say that I do support human rights, but I want to say that a woman has the right not to have children if she chooses not to, but not after she has forfeited those rights. If it is right to get rid of the unwanted child, next year, we, at a convention like this, may have to deal with the unwanted criminal. Perhaps the following year, we may have to deal with the uncooperating draftee, then the unwanted old person. Where are we going to stop? I suggest that we defeat the resolution. I would like to ask at what point is a child not a child?

DELEGATE HARRY GREENWOOD, LOCAL 1005, STEELWORKERS: Brother Chairman, I would like to speak to the resolution and vote in favour of it. The resolution asks that we recognize the defence fund set up to assist Dr. Morgentaler. It also asks that we send a representative and participate by giving funds. This doesn't necessarily mean that the members of the OFL here today are voting on whether they agree with abortion or not. They've voting on the basis of supporting a Brother or in this case it is probably a Sister Local who have used the OFL as the only avenue to get their case before you. The Ontario Federation of Labonr has long been a defender of the rights of people, and we have to make judgment decisions here on whether or not a woman who may be from the industrial ghetto or Toronto earning $1.80 or maybe even less than $1.80, who has the choice of going before a doctor and having the right to make a decision on whether or not an unborn baby should live; being denied that right and then taking the matter in her own hands by using a coat hanger or some quackery. We're talking today about social problems; we're talking today about economic problems, and we're talking here on a moral problem, and morality is a double-edged sword. I believe that we should give all the support to the Sister Local, to bring forward a representative and funds to defend the doctor. Thank you.

DELEGATE JIM SKINNER, LOCAL 43, CUPE: Brothers and Sisters, I speak strongly in favour of the motion, because in the final analysis I am the person responsible for me, responsible for any action I take of bodily functions or extensions thereof, and I believe everyone is entitled to the same capacity, the same rights. I only think the resolution doesn't go far enough. I think the time has come when all these archaic laws should be reviewed and removed from the legislation of Canada and I think the OFL ought to have the expertise to review these laws and do their darnedest to remove them from the legislation. I reiterate I speak strongly in favour of the motion. Thank you, Sisters and Brothers. (question, question)

DELEGATE FRANK MILNAR, LOCAL 164, CHEMICAL WORKERS: If anybody got troubles with abortion, the honeymoon season is open in Niagara Falls for abortion. They had last year 385 abortions and nobody says anything about anything except the guys that walk around with the signs. And if anybody got trouble now, Sisters, come to Honeymoon City.

PRESIDENT ARCHER: Delegate on 3. (question) After this, I'll put the question and see if you're ready. Delegate on 3.

DELEGATE IRENE DAS, LOCAL 79, CUPE, RIVERDALE HOSPITAL, TORONTO: I am a Registered Nurse, and I can realize the sentiment of many people here working in hospitals or having the matter of social conscience, or moral conscience on their minds. It is very easy to be moral, but when I am pregnant, when you are pregnant, Sister, and you have the choice of making $1.80 or whatever it is, and you have the choice of supporting your child, your children, your fellow workers, Delegates, your fellow social people, they are not going to help you. They are going morally to tell you that you have to have this child, you have to raise it, you have to provide for it. But they are not going to give you any money. They are not going to give yon any babysitting. They're not going to give you any encouragement. They're going to point the finger on you and I feel sorry for anybody who has to have a child when they really cannot do it, because our society gives a forked tongue. They say yes, life is sacred, but it is so sacred that we have ghettos, that we have poverty, that we have all kinds of things that are socially unbearable, and I am rising in favour of this resolution.

Life is so sacred that we had child labour, that we have wars, that we have all kinds of things happening that nobody is raising an issue or a finger, where religions have been supporting wars and all kinds of crazy things, where our bodily functions are looked on as dirty; where people are looked on as animals, and we are created sacred. We have to take the moral and the financial and economic responsibility in every way for what we are doing, and I find it's our duty to educate, yes, but also where there is reul need and real trouble, I think people should have the freedom and then use it responsibly. I rise strongly in favour of it, and if the men in this group here would be ever in the position where they would have to make this choice with all its consequences, I wonder . . . they should put themselves in the boots of a woman that is having this choice and this power in her life, to think what they would do, and then judge. Thank you very much.

PRESIDENT ARCHER: Thank you very much. The question is being called.

DELEGATE DAY, SEIU, LOCAL 777: Point of order (what's your point?) we've heard an awful lot in favour of the motion, and I quite understand the people's attitude, but let's hear from somebody who is not in favour.

PRESIDENT ARCHER: That's not a point of order and there were at least three people who spoke who were very much opposed to it. No I'm sorry the question is now being put. Now all those in favour of the question being called, please signify; against. There's no doubt — it's overwhelming . . . not quite unanimous but over — in favour of putting the question. Those in favour of the Committee's amended resolution, please signify; contrary. Well it's carried with quite a substantial majority.

It is now my great great privilege . . . what is it Brother . . . on 6.

DELEGATE GIRVIN, LOCAL 161, CHEMICAL WORKERS: Mr. Chairman, I understand there is an emergency resolution and I think is very important to this . . . a resolution that has come from Local 196 of the UEW, which is not my International . . . I jnst want to know is this going to be brought up on the floor. . .

PRESIDENT ARCHER: You're going to have to ask the Resolutions Committee, I don't know.

DELEGATE GIRVIN: Well can I ask them now?

PRESIDENT ARCHER: Well you had better see them afterwards, I'm going to introduce the Guest Speaker now. Would you mind taking your chair and you can see the Resolutions Committee yourself.

It's now my very great pleasure to introduce to you . . . as you know in this convention we usually restrict it to one speaker. We try to use the time allotted to us for doing the business of the convention, and unlike somebody suggested, that we have dozens of guest speakers. We have one guest speaker. We do have one or two people who bring greetings to this Federation from other groups. We are very, very fortunate on this occasion, the guest speaker is usually an officer of the Congress bringing the greetings and telling you of the activities of the Congress and its liaison with the Ontario Federation of Labour. We are most fortunate on this occasion to have the retiring President of the Congress, a man who has devoted his

Massacre inevitable on "peaceful road"

Chile needed true revolution,

By PAUL KELLOGG

It was a breath of the Revolution. . Hugo Blanco spoke with York students on Tuesday. A man from the back country of Peru visiting the urban fringe of North America; a man who knows the oppression of Third-World peasants, speaking with Canadian youths privileged to attend university; a man who knows the meaning of active participation and struggle, speaking at York; it was a very incongruous juxtaposition.

FIGHTING IN PERU

Blanco is a political exile. From 1958 to 1963 he worked for the revolution in rural Peru, organizing peasant farmers, helping them to resist the various oppressions that members of the working class in Third-World countries experience; disease, hunger, illiteracy and forced labour.

In 1963 he was imprisoned; in 1966, sentenced to death. Partly because of international outrage, the sentence was never carried out and in 1971 he was released from prison. Since then he has been shunted from country to country in South America, welcome to no capitalist regime. His exile now finds him in Sweden. Tuesday found him at York.

IN HIS ELEMENT

During the various introductory speeches, he appeared uncomfortable and ill at ease. When he rose to speak, however, he entered his element and became the practiced spokesman for the struggle against oppression.

"The Popular Unity government [of Salvador Allende] in Chile made only one mistake and that was called 'the peaceful road'. All actions that don't liquidate capitalism are reformist and not revolutionary. Revolution means a total change... They wanted to make a revolution without the revolution. They wanted to make an omelette without breaking the egg.

'NO WAR'

"The slogan of the Communist Party in Chile was 'no civil war'. Their slogan was carried out. There was no civil war; instead, a massacre. That was 'the peaceful road' to socialism in Chile."

However, Blanco disagreed with the ultra-left tactics of groups like the Tupamaros.

"The role [of a revolutionary party] is not to put bombs in some police station, but to head the organization of the masses. The problem is in what context it is.

"[A revolutionary party] must carry out the independent mobilization of the masses to solve their own problems. And the revolutionary party must take into consideration the level of organizatioo of the masses when developing their strategy."

Paul Kellogg, photo

Peruvian revolu
before a York a

Mass

In a letter written in 1967 to the Canadian Committee to Free Hugo Blanco, revolutionary leader Blanco stressed the necessity of solidarity in working for the revolution, and quoted from a poem by Cesar Vallejo:

At the end of the battle,
and dead the combat ant, a man approached him
and said, "Don't die, I love you so much."
But the body, oh! continued dying.

There approached him two, and they repeated to him:
"Don't leave us! Valor! Return to life!"
But the body, oh! continued dying.

Approached him twenty, one hundred, a thousand, five hundred thousand,
clamoring: "So much love and nothing to stop his death".
But the body, oh! continued dying.

Millions surrounded him with a common plea: "Stay, brother!"
But the body, oh! continued dying.

Then, all the men of the earth surrounded him, and the body, sad, emotional, raised itself up slowly,
embraced the first man and started to walk...

Dime-a-cup coffee dies as George bites the dust

By BONNIE SANDISON

George, CYSF's student-operated coffee shop in the Ross Building, is in its last weeks of operation, because of the lack of space in the student council's new Central Square location.

Manpower and Immigration and the Career Counselling Centre are moving into the rooms presently occupied by the council offices, and CYSF is moving to the rooms behind the main bulletin board in Central Square.

The new location does not have enough space for the operation of a coffee shop, but some members of council are trying to find some means of offering students an alternative to the cafeteria.

The coffee shop, run as a service to students, sells coffee at a dime a cup, aiming to break even financially and to pay five studen: employees rather than to make a large profit.

J.J. Koornstra, vice president of finance, said last week that while the closure of the coffee shop would affect the budget to a minimal extent, students will now have to go to the cafeteria or over to the colleges just to sit down and have a cup of coffee.

CYSF business manager Doug Wise believes the chances of reopening after Christmas are very slight. But CYSF president Anne Scotton still hopes something can be arranged with the university.

"It is the end of a dime cup of coffee in Central Square," said a

TO

What effect
sities have
—a possibl

W

GET T

Because of
staff associ
be cancelle
so that the
financial cr

It is extr
possible a
budget, the
6% salary i
under heav
now under
extreme im

This mee

Chile needed true revolution, says Blanco

Paul Kellogg. photo

Peruvian revolutionary Hugo Blanco, now in exile, stressed Tuesday before a York audience that the true revolution means "total change".

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

forward

Vol. I, No. 5 Dec.1974-Jan.1975 Toronto 20 Cents

No. 5

New turn in labor's ranks spurred on by youth and inflation

By the Editors

The trade unions, encompassing over 2½ million workers, are posing a colossal problem to the giant corporations that own the productive plant of the country, and their political stooges who command all the powers of the state.

The daily press reports on the hearings of the Quebec Royal Commission on the building trades unions, and NDP MLA Shulman's expose of the Seafarer's Union have been headlining the corruption of sections of the union leadership. They have been covering up, not only the Quebec and federal Liberal governments' venal involvement, but above all the role of the very forces on whose behalf these government officials worked.

The media is zooming in, not on capitalism which is the fountainhead of corruption but on the handful of petty bureaucrats who fell prey to its bribery and flattery and betrayed the membership's trust — in an attempt to smear the concept of unionism itself.

The Big Business cabal are gravely concerned about the trade union movement at this time, and not only because the economy has been slipping into a period of increasing instability and uncertainty, the cost of which they will attempt to unload onto the backs of the workers. They are particularly worried because over the past year we are witness to a new upsurge of militancy the likes of which has not been seen since the great struggles that swept across the country following World War II.

mounting strike wave

The statistics released by the Department of Labor for the first six months of this year record in cold type the first phase of this mounting process. By June of this year there had been almost double the number of strikes and lockouts than there had been during the entire years of 1969, 1970, 1971 or 1972. The duration of these struggles registered in the number of "man-days" was equal to those of the entire year of 1973.

Confronted with skyrocketting prices which have drastically cut into real wages, the organized workers have not only initiated wide-spread struggles that have won them substantial basic wage increases but, in as yet all too few cases, are winning agreements that ensure them automatic wage increases with the increased cost of living (COLA). While they have by no means caught up, settlements in the first half of 1974 established an average 12.3 percent increase in wages.

With the economy undergoing a period of increasing difficulty Big Business has not only been unable to completely unload the costs onto the backs of the workers. They are now having to confront the fact that the radicalization of the '60s that swept through the youth, concentrated mainly in the student movement, is now firmly planted in the ranks of organized labor.

It was the lack of any substantial working class response to the youth radicalization that was in large part behind its ultra leftist spin-offs and the distortion in a sectarian direction of many of the radical formations that were hit by it.

The rejection of the capitalist system as a whole by broad layers of the youth radicalization is now finding widening expression at the work place. How to counteract this development was the subject of a panel discussion at the annual meeting of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce. Ford of Canada's executive director of public affairs called for an all-out fight against "the misleading and sweeping assumptions that work is becoming less meaningful or that workers are dehumanized or alienated." The chairman of Honeywell Ltd. took comfort that "with luck" they may "have a better chance of getting a hearing and changing some of the irrational attitudes about business that have become so entrenched in some quarters in recent years."

But while the C of C members took comfort with the president of the Redpath sugar monopoly, that the problem is not the system itself but one of communication of the achievements of capitalism, others more directly involved have had to more honestly delineate some aspects of this new situation.

Carl Goldenberg, possibly the most experienced and astute mediator in the business, who was recently awarded a senatorship, expounded on the situation before a seminar last month in what is essentially an apologia for the harassed union leadership.

as the enemy sees it

Referring to the influx of youth in the work places across Canada he noted; "as the younger generation of workers takes over, trade unions become more militant in their demands and the older trade union leaders face rebellions if they cannot succeed in satisfying them."

He referred to "the difference in attitude towards increased pensions, in which the older worker is naturally more interested, as against immediate wage gains which are the greater concern to the young than future security"; "to the rising expectations in which more and more people want more and more of the good things of life," and to "the monotony of the tasks on the assembly line" which "tends to alienate the younger and better educated workers of today" who "are more mobile and less attached to the job as such, than those who preceded them."

Naturally this phenomenon is not limited to the ranks of the long established unions. It affects broad strata of white collar and professional workers who have heretofore looked askance at unions, not to speak of mass demonstrations and strikes. What were in many respects company unions have undergone a veritable transformation. The greatest union growth is in these areas of the work force.

Not only are the union rank and file more frequently rejecting offers that have been accepted by the leadership after lengthy strikes and minimal strike pay. White and blue collar workers, in what have been labelled essential services governed by laws barring strikes backed up by heavy penalties, are doing that which is forbidden. They are striking.

The advocates of "law and order" have attempted to whip up "public opinion" against such strikers but to little effect. They have been challenging the government with its police and army to enforce union-busting laws already on the books and to enact special legislation. But the

Continued on page 2

in this issue:

NDP news p3

US takeover.... p4-5

Quebec left p7

PLO recognition & economic crisis undermine Zionism

By Harry Kopyto

The unprecedented phenomenon of giving a guerrilla organization like the Palestine Liberation Organization a status similar to that of a government in exile has dramatically reintroduced the Palestinian struggle into the center stage of world attention. Combined with the massive opposition to Israel's economic policies within Israel itself, Israel is in the most significant crisis in its entire history.

The decision of the Israeli government on November 10 to devalue the Israeli pound by 43 percent and to raise the prices of Israeli goods by 17 percent was greeted by days of demonstrations throughout Israel, from the Hatikva slums to the Port city of Ashdod where 1,000 port workers staged a protest march and strike.

Sugar prices have increased 300 percent; bread, milk and eggs have doubled in price; a tankful of gasoline now costs a quarter of a week's salary. As Israelis realized the extent of the austerity measures, demonstrations were reported in Haifa, Ben Shemesh and Tel Aviv. The arrests numbered in the hundreds as buses and cars were damaged by rioting youths.

These economic protests follow upon a series of financial scandals affecting major Israeli corporations, and growing dissent, including resignations, within the government cabinet.

The growing economic exploitation of Israel's workers is an inevitable product of the militarization of Israel and its growing dependence on American sophisticated weaponry for its defence. Israel's Premier Rabin has already announced that the devaluation was only the first step toward halting a drain of Israel's hard currency reserves. "This will not be the last step," he said, as Israel's military budget for 1974 exceeds the four billion dollar mark.

Since the October 1973 war, in which Israel failed to achieve a decisive victory, a profound sense of insecurity has affected the Israeli people. The ideal of Zionism had been shattered by war guns once too often and the quest for peace now seems unattainable to growing numbers of Israelis.

As the awareness grows within Israel that the promises of Zionism can at best yield only a few months of precarious peace between wars; as U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's diplomatic forays turn into exercises of futility; and as Israel's dependence on the United States increases by leaps and bounds, what must Israeli workers expect? What must be going through their minds when they hear General George Brown, the highest ranking military officer in the United States, publicly suggest that Jews "own, you know, the banks in this country, the newspapers," and hear him call for getting "tough-minded enough to set down the Jewish influence in this country."

When reliance on such people is all that Zionism has to offer, then it must be concluded that the Zionist State has reached an impasse.

The Palestinian fact is presenting itself with a hitherto unknown sharpness to the Israeli masses as a result of a growing shift in world public opinion in favour of the Palestinian cause, and as a result of the oil embargo which has given the twenty Arab states more bargaining power than at any time in the recent past. Along with the U.N.'s hope to win the PLO over to peaceful means of struggle, these factors combined to cause a majority of U.N. members to recognize the PLO.

The Palestinian struggle to return to the homeland from which they were expelled twenty-six years ago has never waned. Since the birth of Israel itself, and especially during the 1956, 1967 and 1973 wars, the Arab states have been repeatedly exposed as impotent to confront this implanted state which has emerged as a key client state of American imperialism as well as a death-trap for those Jews who felt that the phenomenon of anti-Semitism, which is rooted in the nature of

Continued on page 6

Typical of rising ferment in labor's ranks is the growth of new organizations like the Union of Injured Workers which is fighting for just compensation for those injured on the job. Above, an angry union member, at a recent Toronto rally against the Tory government's Workmens Compensation Board.

Action not jingles in Int'l Women's year

By the Editors

You've come a long way, baby! So the media, the government, and the corporations that make money by selling their products to women blare at us.

In fact, we have come so far that the government is contributing $5 million to women in honour of International Women's Year-1975. Unfortunately, the major recipients of this giant bonus seem to be the same ad agencies long accustomed to selling women the goods. It appears that instead of offering women the changes we require, the government and the ad agencies are offering new jingles to hum — perhaps we'll whistle them while we work at our underpaid jobs or while we're doing the housework.

The other chunk of the money is scheduled to be spent on conferences and salaries. But, as one member of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women said, "We told you in April that we don't want conferences, we want action!" What kind of action can women expect to receive on recommendations they make to our Government? Not much if we base our expectations on past experience.

... waiting for Trudeau

In 1967, the Government established the Royal Commission on the Status of Women. It took over three years for the commission to present 167 recommendations to the Federal Government. Now, 4 years later, the Government has implemented none of the Commission's major recommendations.

We are still fighting for the same goals: repeal of the abortion laws; quality child care for everyone who needs it; and equal pay for work of equal value. Although the Royal Commission dealt with these issues, the Government seems loathe to do likewise.

Some advances have been made. Stewardesses are now able to continue to work through pregnancy. The Toronto press club has now opened its doors to women in the profession. But, in spite of a variety of gains, the overall picture for women appears to be getting worse, not better.

Justice Minister Lang's attacks on hospital abortion committees has caused a decrease in the number of legal abortions performed. Women now have less control over their bodies than they did five years ago.

Proposals made by Margaret Birch, Ontario Secretary for Social Development, to introduce new lowered standards for day care staff ratios and nutrition and safety requirements have placed the standards of existing day care facilities, already inadequate, under attack.

Equal pay for work of equal value seems to be a concern which has made little headway. According to a study done in 1971, the salary gap between men and women has actually widened and in 1972 the average income for men was $9,074 while for women it was only $5,208.

Since 1967, women have become increasingly impatient with the

continued on page 2

US building trades brass sabotage Cdn autonomy

By Paul Kane

The delegates to the Ontario Federation of Labor convention returned from Niagara Falls to learn from, of all sources, the capitalist daily **Globe and Mail** columnist Wilfred List, that the top brass of the US-based building trades unions have been manipulating the funds of their Canadian members in a massive financial boycott of the Canadian Labor Congress.

Ken Rose, vice-president of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Union has subsequently admitted that 75 per cent of the per capita tax collected from the IBEW's 56,000 Canadian members has been withheld from the CLC; so have top officers of the Brotherhood of Decorators and Painters, and the Sheet Metal Workers. This has put the CLC almost a million dollars in debt.

This sabotage of the operations of the central body of the Canadian trade union movement by the corrupt US top brass of the building trades unions, through their lickspittle appointees over the Canadian membership, was not only done behind the backs of the tens of thousands of Canadian members of all but three of the 18 big US-based building trades unions. It was covered up from the delegates to the OFL convention by the executive board which had gone through the motions of submitting a financial report. None of the board uttered a single word to the delegates about this outrageous situation althongh at their last meeting they advanced a loan of $50,000 to the CLC so it could maintain its operations on a minimal basis.

This action is nothing but an attempt to blackmail, with the threat of split looming behind it, the entire Canadian membership of all the affiliates of the Canadian Labor Congress from implementing their desires to be masters of their own organization.

Last summer's CLC convention in Vancouver saw the delegates not only overwhelmingly reaffirm their support of the guidelines for Canadian autonomy of the US-based affiliates, but also express their determination that the guidelines be complied with. Attempts of the building trades brass to line up their own delegates in a mini-conference on the very eve of the congress behind a motion to withdraw, should the guidelines be reaffirmed, was defeated by a vote of 116 to 98. With their defeat at the Congress itself, the brass decided to take this unilateral action, behind the backs of their own membership.

The first response of the Canadian membership suggests that this flagrant action is setting off an even greater feeling for Canadian autonomy than has heretofore found expression in the heavily bureaucratized building trades unions.

The Provincial Building Construction Trades Council heard US brass-appointed international representative of the Sheet Metal Workers, Ronald Taylor, refer to CUPE, which is a major force in the Canadian autonomy fight, with a sneering appeal to craft snobbery. There "is no way a bunch of garbage collectors is going to tell us what to do", he said. But some of the most servile lackies of the international leadership felt called upon to protest the dues boycott.

An emergency resolution passed by the delegates noted that "incensed Canadian members of the international union are suggesting harsh retaliatory measures against the international unions for what is considered an unwarranted and vicious undermining of the central labor body in Canada."

Provincial Council officers were authorized to ascertain which unions were witholding dues to the CLC and to decide appropriate action by Ontario locals of these unions — by implication that the locals should withold dues to the international and make their per-capita contributions direct to the CLC. The convention also adopted a resolution authorizing the council to establish a committee to develop a Canadian autonomy policy for Ontario locals.

Ray Ford, a business manager for a local in the 38,000 member Laborer's union, said that he did not think that the CLC should back off "even if the unions split."

forward #5 Dec 1974

Editor: Wayne Roberts

FORWARD is published in the interests of working people by the Forward Publishing Association. Signed articles express the opinions of the writers and are not necessarily the opinions of the publishers. Mail should be addressed to Forward, Box 778, Adelaide St. P.O. Toronto.

Forward

Editor: Wayne Roberts

FORWARD is published in the interests of working people by the Forward Publishing Association. Signed articles express the opinions of the writers and are not necessarily the opinions of the publishers. Mail should be addressed to Forward, Box 778, Adelaide St. P.O. Toronto.

BC, Ont. documents:

NDP manifestoes bare key problem

By Wayne Roberts

As evidence that the NDP continues to express and encompass the political aspirations of broad layers of class conscious working people, debates on the program and perspectives best suited to the working class continue to enliven the party. This has long been true of the NDP and of its predecessor, the CCF, and is a sign of the vitality of the party as well as of big challenges before the labor movement.

At recent conventions of the BC and Ontario NDP, two important left documents surfaced which attempt to come to grips with the major problems facing New Democrats: **Turn Toward Socialism** and **For a Radicalized, Revitalized New Democratic Party. (Both documents have been reproduced in the October**

MPP Floyd Laughren

and November issues of **Forward.**)

The central focus of these documents is the indictment of the NDP parliamentary leadership for stifling the potential of the party and abandoning its program in the interests of parliamentary opportunism. The Ontario party, it is charged, is trying to win elections with catchy slogans rather than firm policies, trying to sneak into power rather than preparing the mass of the population for the struggles that lie ahead. The consequences of this policy are enumerated: the rallying cry of moderation rather than truth; the abstention from extra-parliamentary struggles and the consequent reduction in appeal to workers; the arbitrary power of leaders in ignoring convention decisions; and the lack of political discussions in a party the leaders are trying to turn into an electoral machine.

In BC, the statement of the outgoing executive, **Turn Toward Socialism**, calls for involvement of the party and the people in government decisions, "as government cannot follow the socialist road by itself." The government, it says, has the choice of mobilizing the party behind a socialist program; or of adapting to the power of capital while branding its own activists as enemies. The statement calls on the government to pursue the first alternative.

Supported by a wide layer of respected activists, including prominent executive members and MPP's, these documents speak for many in the NDP. They are a tribute to the vitality of the ranks who rebounded to the task of making the NDP better serve the working people despite the many problems surrounding the Waffle exit in terms of loss of activists and the soured and intimidating atmosphere as regards polarization of the party.

As well, the statements are a rebuke to those who have abandoned the party to its right wing leadership, like the Revolutionary Marxist Group, and the League for Socialist Action. They have used their papers to attack not only the party as a whole but even the developing left wings. According to the **Old Mole**, the BC left merely wants to return to old fashioned reformism. According to **Labor Challenge**, the BC statement is so vacuous it could not only win the support of all New Democrats but of many Liberals as well! Laying claim to the mantle of Trotskyism, these groups nevertheless seem to have forgotten the words of Trotsky himself in reference to the British Labor Party. The leadership, he said, on the eve of the 1926 general strike, does not have a permanent hold over the working class. Rather, he said that it was "merely a provisional stage in the revolutionary development of the working class." The growth of these currents must be seen as an important part of this process.

Apart from this, these left documents focus on the essential problem facing the NDP. While the party has drawbacks in terms of its leadership and program — all New Democrats will admit this — its Achilles Heel is its narrow parliamentarism. It is for this reason that they try to make parliament rather than the mass movements the sounding board for building the NDP as a movement. Flowing from this, they have a cringing fear of raising many controversial issues in elections, often leading them to bury even the many excellent positions adopted by the party itself on women's liberation, foreign policy and nationalization of the resource industries.

It cannot even be said that this shortsighted policy pays off in electoral results. As the Ontario document points out, working people are not going to be stirred into voting NDP by adroit parliamentary maneuvres and canned images, but by a dynamic challenge and program. If the leadership policy is designed to conciliate the capitalist press or corporations, they are wasted efforts. Capitalists fear the labor base of the NDP, whatever the soothing pronouncements of the leadership. Nor will any amount of quiet on the abortion issue, for instance, stop the "Right to Life" from mobilizing against prominent NDP candidates as they have in the past, including against David Lewis himself. It is precisely the failure of this sort of opportunism on the part of the leadership that has stirred the new forces in the party.

But that is not the only problem. The failure to tell it like it is undermines the building of a party of struggle and commitment. In "blurring" and "devitalizing" the party the leadership imperils its future, the document suggests.

The NDP is now and for the foreseeable future will be the central arena of mass working class politics in Canada. Winning the NDP and its ranks to socialism remains for us the central challenge of the epoch. It is a demanding task which will require considerable organization and debate within the party. As the Ontario document points out, the party leadership is well organized, centralized and all-too-often autocratic. To combat it will require a well-organized rank and file. A good beginning in that direction has been made by these documents.

#5 Dec 1974 forward

What program and strategy?

Waffle at the crossroads

By John Morgan

The Ontario Waffle — which in three years had built up by far the largest membership and periphery on the left outside the NDP, has been fractured by the walk-out and resignation of its leaders. As the organization meets in convention on December 14-15 in Toronto, it will be without its founders and theoretical leadership — the group around Jim Laxer — which has made it clear they are abandoning ship to construct a separate formation, the Movement for an Independent Socialist Canada (MISC).

The resignations followed their walk-out a few weeks earlier from a Provincial Council meeting attended by 100 Waffle delegates and observers. Having twice failed to get their positions adopted, and refusing to compromise on the adoption of a witch-hunting move against two opposition groups which they characterized as congenital debaters and "Americanized mini-leftists", the Laxer leadership arbitrarily withdrew.

On tendering their resignations at a later meeting, the Laxer forces briefly re-stated their strategical proposals for Waffle, and claimed that the non-acceptance of these proposals by the membership was grounds for their resignations. Their view was that an economic crisis which was due to hit Canada this fall would lead to mass lay-offs in American-owned plants, and that a dramatic rise in Canadian nationalism would be set off as production and jobs were shifted south of the border. Laxer claimed that the imminence of the crisis demanded that Waffle end all internal debate — especially no doubt as the debate challenged his inflated estimate of the importance of the nationalist "movement" he predicted would appear.

Proposal for a Socialist Party

The disparate opposition forces which now find themselves organizers of the convention are faced not only with picking up the reins of leadership, which had been largely concentrated in the hands of the Laxer forces, but at least one tendency is determined to begin the task of transforming Waffle into a socialist party. The decision to make Waffle a party rather than a diffuse movement was taken at the 1973 convention, 1½ years after it had broken away from the NDP in the face of demands from the bureaucratic Ontario brass that it disband.

The first requirement of a group of socialists who decide to form themselves into a party is to work out a program through a process of discussion and debate. The Laxer leadership never did this. Rather, a closed circle around the leaders themselves planned and carried out a series of successful lecture series and the publication of two or three books; but the program of the proposed party was a subject never embarked upon, above all among the membership.

When Waffle launched the campaign of three candidates in the federal elections earlier this year, a small group of members hurriedly formulated an electoral policy focused on the issue of control of Canadian natural resources and industry by US corporate giants, to which nationalization was posed as the solution. However, this electoral platform was no substitute for a worked out program.

Furthermore, there was no serious discussion opened on where Waffle is situated in the Canadian left, particularly in relation to the mass labor party, the NDP. The NDP was dismissed as a "continentalist, old line party" in a sectarian fashion. Thus, the movement was left in a hopeless position of frontally challenging the NDP. The result was that many Wafflers failed to work for their candidates, instead joining in NDP campaigns or abstaining.

As the Waffle's respectable vote was being counted, one opposition tendency launched a documented attack on the anti-democratic organization of the election campaign and formulation of its program. Laxer, instead of opening a debate, reacted with a hysterical attack and series uf counter-productive factional manoeuvres which resulted in his leadership ending up a slight minority at the October Council meeting in Ottawa.

The Need for a Program

A correct electoral program would flow from certain essential positions which a socialist party in Canada is obliged to take. To begin with, socialists must concern themselves with all aspects of Canadian politics, from the Morgentaler test ease to remove abortion from the Criminal Code to the questions of Canadian foreign policy entanglements in the American war in Vietnam, in NATO, and its "peace-keeping" enterprises in various parts of the world. Revolutionary socialists must present workers with a pan-Canadian and international overview, tying in the struggles of the oppressed around the world with the class struggle at home.

Although Waffle has made major contributions in its writings and research on American economic domination of Canada and analysed current Canadian nationalism as anti-imperialist and directed against the Canadian state, Laxer does not seem to understand the primacy of the class question. In the union movement, for instance, an understanding of the nature of the "business unionist" bureaucracy is essential in order to evaluate the meaning of the sentiment against American control of Canadian unions. Laxer has misread this sentiment as being propelled by nationalism (reaction against the Burke-Hartke Bill, etc.), thus posing independent (separate) Canadian unions as a principled question. Rather, it is the need for freedom to conduct militant class action in defence of their standard of living that propels workers to drive for genuinely autonomous unions on the national and local level. The nationalist expression of the struggle for democratic, fighting unions confronts the Canadian brass which bas come to the defence of the US union tops.

On international issues, socialists who see the radical dynamic of Canadian nationalism will of course solidarize with movements for national liberation in the "third world". An internationalist outlook is essential for a party that calls itself socialist — something the

→p.2

Jim Laxer, now resigned from Waffle leadership, speaks during one of many mass meetings during NDP leadership race in 1971. When faced with the task of building a socialist party outside the NDP, however, he was unsuccessful in elaborating the necessary broad program.

p. 2

Laxer leadership seemed to ignore, particularly in viewing the class nature of the United States. The important Black and Chicano national movements and the existence of the powerful US union movement cannot be ignored. Waffle instead has been treated in a factional struggle to the spectacle of chauvinism against US workers and intellectuals which finally rendered a split in the movement inevitable.

Also vital in formulating the program of a socialist party is the attitude toward countries where the basis of socialist economic relations have been won — the Soviet Union, China, the East European bloc, and Cuba. Revolutionary socialists, in defending these workers states, must demarcate themselves from the Stalinist bureaucracy and its practice of international class collaboration, while actively supporting dissident and nationalist currents seeking to establish socialist democracy in these countries.

Mass Party or Cadre Organization?

In discussing whether Waffle can entertain the idea that it will develop directly into a mass party, or whether it must begin as a vanguard, cadre organization, it must first situate itself in relation to the existing mass labor movement — the trade unions, and above all, the NDP, the mass party of Canadian labor. No socialist movement can grow or survive without a correct orientation of critical support to the NDP, which despite its reformist leadership stands clearly to the left of the working class as a whole and poses the challenge of the first, fundamental political step to that class: independent labor political action.

Since its establishment in 1961, the NDP has reflected and become the arena for every wave of radicalization of students and workers that has appeared in Canada. It is an illusion to believe that a significant radicalization within the workers movement will not find its major expression within the NDP, or that forces to the left of the NDP which might develop will not be obliged to do battle with the reformist leadership within the party, in order to attempt to win influence, and leadership, in the mainstream of the labor movement.

The existence of a mass labor party also imposes upon the revolutionary movement a certain organizational form. We cannot simply counterpose ourselves frontally to the NDP, the ranks of which we seek to win to revolutionary socialism, the leadership of which we want to expose as inadequate to the task of winning even profound reforms of capitalism.

A Leninist Party

Waffle is a vanguard formation — the nucleus of a cadre organization. It's first task is to define its program, and to attempt to build a unified leadership of a party organized on the basis of democratic centralism. This is Lenin's concept of a revolutionary party, a party in which a full discussion is the means by which a program and strategy is hammered out, which functions democratically, and which acts in unison as a combat party on the basis of the adopted majority position.

The tasks before the Waffle convention are formidable. Discussions in Ontario and Saskatchewan Waffle are clearly posing the necessity of a party on the Leninist model. The discussion on program is taking place largely in the context of how to apply Marxism to Canadian politics.

Can Waffle learn anything from the existing political currents on the Canadian left? In demarcating itself consciously from social-democratic and Stalinist class collaborationism, and in assessing what strategy is required to reach out and gain a hearing in the mass movements of the working class, it can learn much from the Trotskyist movement.

The experience and lessons of the victory of the Bolshevik Party in 1917, under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, are of importance to revolutionaries in the Canada of 1974. In its internationalism, and in its vigorous support of national struggles in the colonial world and within imperialist countries, Trotskyism sets an example which must be seriously considered by Wafflers in seeking solutions to the problems of revolutionary politics and organization.

Ex-NDP left for Marxist party

Editor's note — The internal discussions in the Waffle, according to leading Saskatchewan Waffler Don Mitchell, are part of their transition "from a broadly defined socialist caucus of the NDP to a disciplined socialist party." As they move towards forming a party, he says, "we will become more scientific in our socialism, more consistent on questions of strategy."

We reprint below **The Need For And Nature Of A Socialist Party** by Lorne Brown. This document represented the dominant feeling of Saskatchewan Wafflers coming out of a August weekend conference.

THE NEED FOR AND NATURE OF A MARXIST PARTY

Don Mitchell has spelled out some of the reasons why we need a Marxist party in Saskatchewan in the immediate future. I will not reiterate the points discussed by Don other than to emphasize his final point that we have passed the stage when the Waffle can afford to remain a vaguely defined socialist "movement", or a loose coalition of anyone who happens to be opposed to the capitalist system for one reason or another. We must now move towards a party with a scientific class analysis of our society and a clearly defined long term strategy based on this analysis. Otherwise, we will remain "permanent opportunists" who move on from one issue and one struggle to the next with no clear direction and no improvement in our tactics and strategy.

What does a Marxist party entail? I will mention only a few of the assumptions common to all schools of Marxism.

I) It will be a party based on a scientific class analysis of the capitalist system as it exists internally as well as in Canada and Saskatchewan. Basic to the analysis and strategy of the party will be the fact that the working class, defined as all those people who work in either the private or state sector of the economy for a low or medium wage or salary and in non-managerial positions, is the revolutionary class in advanced capitalist countries. They are the revolutionary class precisely because they own none of the means of production. The surplus value they produce is stolen from them by the ruling class and they have little or no control over what they produce or the conditions under which production is carried on.

A Marxist party must, then, be a predominantly working class party though it will also contain numbers other oppressed groups such as independent commodity producers and a few members of the middle class who choose to throw in their lot with the workers.

II) A Marxist party recognizes that the State in a capitalist society is "the executive committee of the whole bourgeoisie". The purpose of the state and most of the institutions of the state such as the police, army, courts, civil service, educational system and other agencies is to serve the ruling class and keep them in power. Thus you cannot basically change the capitalist system by merely changing the government. The strategy must be to utterly destroy the institutions of the capitalist state and replace them with the institutions of a socialist state designed to serve the interests of the working class and their allies.

III) The only means of the working class achieving state power and making the transformation to socialism is by revolution. The ruling class in a capitalist democracy always moves in a fascist direction when its power is seriously threatened. The latest proof of this, if any more were needed, was the military coup in Chile which imposed a fascist dictatorship on that country. There is no such thing as the "parliamentary road" to socialism though socialists can sometimes make effective use of parliamentary institutions as one part of their tactics and strategy.

Where does the Waffle fit in?

The capitalist system will undergo a number of crises in Canada and elsewhere during the 1970's but it will not be in serious danger of collapse for several decades. As the crises become more severe and the system begins to come apart in the future a revolutionary party will evolve capable of leading the oppressed classes in a struggle for the seizure of state power and the transformation to socialism.

Our task in the immediate future must be to build an open Marxist party with a working class base which will engage in the day-to-day struggles of the working class and other oppressed groups. We must base our strategy on an understanding of objective reality. We must avoid the danger of becoming merely a left-wing version of social democracy, while at the same time avoiding the ultra-left fallacy of assuming the "revolution" to be around the corner and presuming that we are a party capable of leading it. We must prepare ourselves for a long-term struggle.

Waffle at the crossroads What program & strategy?

by John Morgan *(closely reflecting the views of the Socialist League, known as the Forward Group after 1977)*

(from Forward*, December 1974)*

The Ontario Waffle which in three years had built up by far the largest membership and periphery in the left outside the NDP, has been fractured by the walk-out and resignation of its leaders. As the organization meets in convention on September 14-15 in Toronto, it will be without its founders and theoretical leadership the group around Jim Laxer which has made it clear they are abandoning ship to construct a separate formation, the Movement for an Independent Socialist Canada (MISC).

The resignations followed their walk-out a few weeks earlier from a *(NDP –ed.)* Provincial Council meeting attended by 100 Waffle delegates and observers. Having twice failed to get their positions adopted, and refusing to compromise on the adoption of a witch-hunting move against two opposition groups which they characterized as "congenital debaters" and "Americanized mini-leftists", the Laxer leadership arbitrarily withdrew.

In tendering their resignations at a later meeting, the Laxer forces briefly re-stated their strategical proposals for Waffle, and claimed that the non-acceptance of these proposals by the membership was grounds for their resignations. Their view was that an economic crisis which was due to hit Canada this fall would lead to mass layoffs in American-owned plants, and that a dramatic rise in Canadian nationalism would be set off as production and jobs were shifted south of the border. Laxer claimed that the imminence of the crisis demanded that Waffle end all internal debate especially no doubt as the debate challenged his inflated estimate of the importance of the nationalist "movement" he predicted would appear.

Proposal for a Socialist Party

The disparate opposition forces which now find themselves organizers of the convention are faced not only with picking up the reins of leadership, which had been largely concentrated in the hands of the Laxer forces, but at least one tendency is determined to begin the task of transforming Waffle into a socialist party. The decision to make Waffle a party rather than a diffuse movement was taken at the 1973 convention, one and a half years after it had broken away from the NDP in the face of demands from the bureaucratic Ontario brass that it disband.

The first requirement of a group of socialists who decide to form themselves into a party is to work out a program through a process of discussion and debate. The Laxer leadership never did this. Rather, a closed circle around the leaders themselves planned and carried out a series of successful lecture series and the publication of two or three books; but the program of the proposed party was a subject never embarked upon, above all among the membership.

When Waffle launched the campaign of three candidates in the federal elections earlier this year, a small group of members hurriedly formulated an electoral policy focused on the issue of control of Canadian natural resources and industry by US corporate giants, to which nationalization was posed as the solution. However, this electoral platform was no substitute for a worked out program.

Furthermore, there was no serious discussion opened on where Waffle is situated in the Canadian left, particularly in relation to the mass labor party, the NDP. The NDP was dismissed as a "continentalist, old line party" in a sectarian fashion. Thus, the movement was left in a hopeless position of frontally challenging the NDP. The result was that many Wafflers failed to work for their candidates, instead joining in NDP campaigns or abstaining.

As the Waffle's respectable vote was being counted, one opposition tendency launched a documented attack on the anti-democratic organization of the election campaign and formulation of its program. Laxer, instead of opening a debate, reacted with a hysterical attack and series of counter-productive factional maneuvers which resulted in his leadership ending up a slight minority at the October Council meeting in Ottawa.

The Need for a Program

A correct electoral program would flow from certain essential positions which a socialist party in Canada is obliged to take. To begin with, socialists must concern themselves with all aspects of Canadian politics, from the Morgentaler test case to remove abortion from the Criminal Code to the questions of Canadian foreign policy entanglements in the American war in Vietnam, in NATO, and its "peace-keeping" enterprises in various parts of the world. Revolutionary socialists must present workers with a pan-Canadian and international overview, tying in the struggles of the oppressed around the world with the class struggle at home.

Although Waffle has made major contributions in its writings and research on American economic domination of Canada and analysed current Canadian nationalism as anti-imperialist and directed against the Canadian state, Laxer does not seem to understand the primacy of the class question. In the union movement, for instance, an understanding of the nature of the "business unionist" bureaucracy is essential in order to evaluate the meaning of the sentiment against American control of Canadian unions. Laxer has misread this sentiment as being propelled by nationalism (reaction against the Burke-Hartke Bill, etc.), thus posing independent (separate) Canadian unions as a principled question. Rather, it is the need for freedom to conduct militant class action in defence of their standard of living that propels workers to drive for genuinely autonomous unions on the national and local level. The nationalist expression of the struggle for democratic, fighting unions confronts the Canadian brass which has come to the defence of the US union tops.

On international issues, socialists who see the radical dynamic of Canadian

nationalism will of course solidarize with movements for national liberation in the "third world". An internationalist outlook is essential for a party that calls itself socialist,

===photo caption BOX =====
Photo caption: Jim Laxer, now resigned from Waffle leadership, speaks during one of many mass meetings during NDP leadership race in 1971. When faced with the task of building a socialist party outside the NDP however he was unsuccessful in elaborating the necessary broad program.
===== END BOX ========

something the Laxer leadership seemed to ignore, particularly in viewing the class nature of the United States. The important Black and Chicano national movements and the existence of the powerful US union movement cannot be ignored. Waffle instead has been treated in a factional struggle to the spectacle of chauvinism against US workers and intellectuals which finally rendered a split in the movement inevitable.

Also vital in formulating the program of a socialist party is the attitude toward countries where the basis of socialist economic relations have been won the Soviet Union, China, the East European bloc, and Cuba. Revolutionary socialists, in defending these workers states, must demarcate themselves from the Stalinist bureaucracy and its practice of international class collaboration, while actively supporting dissident and nationalist currents seeking to establish socialist democracy in these countries.

Mass Party or Cadre Organization?

In discussing whether Waffle can entertain the idea that it will develop directly into a mass party, or whether it must begin as a vanguard, cadre organization, it must first ituate itself in relation to the existing mass labor movement the trade unions, and above all, the NDP, the mass party of Canadian labor. No socialist movement can grow or survive without a correct orientation of critical support to the NDP, which despite its reformist leadership stands clearly to the left of the working class as a whole and poses the challenge of the first, fundamental political step to that class; independent labor political action.

Since its establishment m 1961, the NDP has reflected and become the arena for every wave of radicalization of students and workers that has appeared in Canada. It is an illusion to believe that a significant radicalization within the workers movement will not find its major expression within the NDP, or that forces to the left of the NDP which might develop will not be obliged to do battle with the reformist leadership within the party, in order to attempt to win influence, and leadership, in the mainstream of the labor movement.

The existence of a mass labor party also imposes upon the revolutionary movement a certain organizational form. We cannot simply counterpose ourselves frontally to the NDP, the ranks of which we seek to win to revolutionary socialism, the leadership

of which we want to expose as inadequate to the task of winning even profound reforms of capitalism.

A Leninist Party

Waffle is a vanguard formation the nucleus of a cadre organization. It's first task is to define its program, and to attempt to build a unified leadership of a party organized on the basis of democratic centralism. This is Lenin's concept of a revolutionary party, a party in which a full discussion is the means by which a program and strategy is hammered out, which functions democratically, and which acts in unison as a combat party on the basis of the adopted majority position.

The tasks before the Waffle convention are formidable. Discussions in Ontario and Saskatchewan Waffle are clearly posing the necessity of a party on the Leninist model. The discussion on program is taking place largely in the context of how to apply Marxism to Canadian politics.

Can Waffle learn anything from the existing political currents on the Canadian left? In demarcating itself consciously from social-democratic and Stalinist class collaborationism, and in assessing what strategy is required to reach out and gain a hearing in the mass movements of the working class, it can learn much from the Trotskyist movement.

The experience and lessons of the victory of the Bolshevik Party in 1917, under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, are of importance to revolutionaries in the Canada of 1974. In its internationalism, and in its vigorous support of national struggles in the colonial world and within imperialist countries, Trotskyism sets an example which must be seriously considered by Wafflers in seeking solutions to the problems of revolutionary politics and organization.

(end)

Ex-NDP left for Marxist party

Web editor's note: The internal discussions in the Waffle, according to leading Saskatchewan Waffler Don Mitchell, are part of their transition "from a broadly defined socialist caucus of the NDP to a disciplined socialist party." As they move towards forming a party, he says, "we will become more scientific in our socialism, more consistent on questions of strategy."

We reprint below "The Need For And Nature Of A Socialist Party" by Lorne Brown. This document represented the dominant feeling of the Saskatchewan Wafflers coming out of an August weekend conference.

"The Need For And Nature Of A Socialist Party"

"Don Mitchell has spelled out some of the reasons why we need a Marxist party in Saskatchewan in the immediate future. I will not reiterate the points discussed by Don other than to emphasize his final point that we have passed the stage when the Waffle can afford to remain a vaguely defined socialist 'movement,' or a loose coalition of anyone who happens to be opposed to the capitalist system for one reason or another. We must now move to wards a party with a scientific class analysis of our society and a clearly defined long-term strategy based on this analysis. Otherwise, we will remain 'permanent opportunists' who move on from one issue and one struggle to the next with no clear direction and no improvement in our tactics and strategy.

"What does a Marxist party entail?

I *(Lorne Brown --ed.)* will mention only a few of the assumptions common to all schools of Marxism.

I) It will be a party based on a scientific class analysis of the capitalist system as it exists internally as well as in Canada and in Saskatchewan. Basic to the analysis and strategy of the party will be the fact that the working class, defined as all those people who work in either the private or state sector of the economy for a low or medium wage or salary and in non-managerial positions, is the revolutionary class in advanced capitalist countries. They are the revolutionary class precisely because they own none of the means of production. The surplus value they produce is stolen from them by the ruling class and they have little or no control over what they produce or the conditions under which production is carried on.

"A Marxist party must, then, be a predominantly working class party though it will also contain (among its) numbers, other oppressed groups such as independent commodity producers and a few members of the middle class who choose to throw in their lot with the workers.

"II) A Marxist party recognizes that the State in a capitalist society is "the executive committee of the whole bourgeoisie". The purpose of the state and most of the institutions of the state such as the police, army, courts, civil service, educational system and other agencies is to serve the ruling class and keep them in power. Thus you cannot basically change the capitalist system by merely changing the government. The strategy must be to utterly destroy the institutions of the capitalist state and replace them with the institutions of a socialist state designed to serve the interests of the working class and their allies.

"Ill) The only means of the working class achieving state power and making the transformation to socialism is by revolution. The ruling class in a capitalist democracy always moves in a fascist direction when its power is seriously threatened. The latest proof of this, if any more were needed, was the military coup in Chile which imposed a fascist dictatorship on that country. There is no such thing as the "parliamentary road" to socialism though socialists can sometimes make effective use of parliamentary institutions as one part of their tactics and strategy.

"Where does the Waffle fit in?

"The capitalist system will undergo a number of crises in Canada and elsewhere during the 1970's but it will not be in serious danger of collapse for several decades. As the crises become more severe and the system begins to come apart in the future a revolutionary party will evolve capable of leading the oppressed classes in a struggle for the seizure of state power and the transformation to socialism.

"Our task in the immediate future must be to build an open Marxist party with a working class base which will engage in the day-to-day struggles of the working class and other oppressed groups. We must base our strategy on an understanding of objective reality. We must avoid the danger of becoming merely a left-wing version of social democracy, while at the same time avoiding the ultra-left fallacy of assuming the "revolution" to be around the corner and presuming that we are a party capable of leading it. We must prepare ourselves for a long-term struggle."

forward #5 Dec 1974

Book review

CANADIAN UNIVERSITIES—American takeover of the Mind—by Joan Cottam, Gall Publications, 39 pp, 1.50

American takeover of the mind

By Ellie Kirzner

If anyone doubts that Canadian academics have the qualification for faculty positions, they might well remember the case of John Seeley, the distinguished Canadian scholar whose 400 publications and long years of teaching experience counted for nothing in the minds of senior administrators at U of T and the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education who recently vetoed his appointment. Seeley's opposition to the Vietnam war, and his outspoken advocacy of university democracy renders him too controversial for nervous senior administrators. So, one should heed with suspicion the moans of senior faculty and administrators that there is no Canadian academic talent, while they scour American campuses looking for old chums to bring to Canadian universities.

Jean Cottam's **Canadian Universities — American Takeover of the Mind** centers precisely on this issue. The large influx into Canada of American academics was generated, suggests Cottam, by the academic employment crisis that began in the US around 1968, and resulted by 1970-71 in 75.1 per cent of permanent academic appointments being granted to non-Canadians, the majority of them US scholars.

This influx occurs in the context of predictions that by 1977, there may be 7,000 unemployed Phds in Canada. It is precisely young Canadians who have the greatest difficulty in plugging in to the old-boy network that operates across the border, to the ludicrous extent that many job vacancies are not even advertised in Canadian journals.

From Cottam's perspective, the non-hiring of Canadians expresses itself in the subversion of Canadian values, scholarship and cultural and political institutions. Moreover, the influx of American academics has, she says, transformed the traditional character of Canadian universities. While in the 50's, Canadian universities were more elitist, more teaching and student oriented, Americanization has created standards which are contemptuous of teaching, and obsessed with publishing.

The recommendations that Cottam proposes are generated by her desire to restore to Canadian campuses the credibility required to resist foreign domination. At the heart of them is her demand that hiring from abroad should desist until Canadians comprise at least 85 per cent in each academic department, any foreign appointments subject to approval by the Department of Manpower and Immigration.

Despite the internal consistency of Cottam's position, it emerges as a singularly one-dimensional appreciation of the problem, seizing not on the socio-economic relations between the US and Canada but on the citizenship of academics. For her, American imperialism is carried onto Canadian campuses in the briefcases of professors.

A narrow perspective such as hers does not take into account the structural forms in which American imperialism enters the university — through representatives of multi-national corporations on the governing bodies, through military and corporate research grants and through the establishment of a continental university system designed to facilitate the staffing and serving of corporate institutions.

How much simpler it would be if one could annihilate the influence of American corporate capitalism merely by refusing teaching jobs to Americans. But alas, American capitalism is the most sophisticated, the most rationalized in the world and the fact that its techniques in the social sciences are being gratefully accepted by mainstream Canadian institutions demonstrates that junior brother craves such standardization. The fight against American economic domination may be a bigger fish to fry, but it at least leads away from hysterical tattle-tales and useless acts of vengeance against individual American scholars.

The price Cottam pays for divorcing her analysis from its socio-economic context, is that she retreats into vacuousness. Witness, for example her statement that "historically we tend to be more community-oriented than are our southern neighbors. For example compare the BNA Act's Peace, Order and Good Government with the American individualistic motto, the right to "Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness'." Now, while it is indisputable that the American and Canadian nation states were constructed on different experiences, it is also clear that the conservative community orientation in Canadian history was born not of the cooperative spirit as some like to imagine but of powerfully undemocratic and hierarchical impulses.

In this context one wonders at the significance of her attacks on American radicals as unconscious agents of US imperialism. The fact that she does not wish to have "US branch plant socialism" transplanted into Canada is understandable, but, the question that can't help emerging is what she thinks of **Canadian** socialism. US academic radicalism, she charges,

→p.2

contributes to the "polarization of our society", a strange comment for anyone who has observed the structure of class relations in Canadian society.

Perhaps, after all, that is her problem. It is easy to nostalgically hark back to the good old fifties when higher education was "more elitist" and more student-oriented, when one has no concern for the thousands of working class youth who can't make it to Canadian universities. If the question of social class is not your "bag," you can forget all kinds of things — like the fact that American domination is a matter of imperialist economic relations and not that of individual Americans. It can also lead to a set of recommendations that are not only ineffective, but dangerous.

Cottam's call for an 85 per cent quota on Canadian professors to be enforced by government withholding of funds merely yields to federal and provincial governments more possibilities to interfere in university affairs. Her suggestion that foreign appointments become subject to approval by the Department of Manpower shows a devastating lack of understanding, as the Seeley affair illustrates. There, two mysterious letters to the Minister of Education and a whisper in the ear of the OISE director were enough to veto Seeley's appointment.

Nevertheless, Cottam's highlighting of the problem of the lack of job possibilities for Canadian Phd's is important. Surely elementary justice demands that Canadian Phd's have the right to teaching and research jobs in their areas of expertise. On that point there is no quarrel.

Cottam's solution of an 85 per cent quota, however, assumes as its framework the present situation of cutbacks in education. Because it freezes present relationships and quietly takes for granted the present elitist character of higher education, her proposal cannot possibly guarantee teaching positions for Canadians. Only the broad expansion of the education budget, and the accessibility of working class youth to university can furnish jobs for Canadian Phds. A simple fact that ties the cutbacks tightly to the struggle against American imperialist influence and renders Cottam's solution a shot in the dark.

Finally, as the interference by both university administrators and government officials to block the Seeley hiring dramatically reveals, the present university structures and government provides not assistance but obstacles to the creation of a university that serves the majority of Canadian people. At the very minimum, student-faculty control would initiate the process of reverting the university from its present functions to the struggle against imperialism.

Economic Council predicts increasing US ownership

According to economist and former Liberal cabinet minister Eric Kierans, the scope of US investment is such that its domination of the Canadian economy is already assured.

Now the Economic Council of Canada in its annual release of November 26 projects that the rate of foreign investment will more than double in the next eight years. The council is an advisory body to the federal government, composed of prominent businessmen and academics. According to the daily press coverage, the council made no comments as to the probable source of this capital nor the specific areas of investment. However, there is little doubt that it will be in areas where US investment is predominant and it will be largely of US origin.

Sales by Canadian subsidiaries of US companies have risen steadily from $23.9 billion in 1966 to $48.7 billion by the end of 1972. Within the Canadian market alone they rose from $12.4 billion in 1966 to $22.3 billion in 1972. In manufacturing, where US firms hold 60 percent control, sales increased at an average annual rate of 12 percent.

The Council projects the total capital required in the next eight years at between $430 billion and $470 billion. Canada will not generate sufficient capital to finance such growth and foreign investment will rise to a range of $2 per $100 of total production from a rate of 70 cents, during the most recent eight years

forward #5 Dec 1974

Quebec Presse study:

Quebec labor paper reviews left

By G Deutsch

The winds of political change are blowing in a leftward direction in Quebec. The November municipal elections in Montreal saw a new coalition of reformers, nationalists, union activists, and community organizers — the Montreal Citizens' Movement — shake up the powerful big business machine of Mayor Jean Drapeau, dealing it its worst setback in 14 years.

The election results are an indicator of the growth of the radical Quebec left in the last few years. Therefore, it is timely to survey the various left forces in Quebec today. As a service to the readers of **FORWARD**, we present a condensation, without other alterations, of "Quebec's Extreme Left: Build The Labor Party", an article by L. Fournier and P. Julien which appeared in the September 29, 1974 issue of the new defunct labor weekly journal **QUEBEC-PRESSE**.

The study deals with the radical left outside the left-wings of the Parti Quebecois and the NDP. It points out that the common strategic objective of this left is the construction in Quebec of a party of the working class, a party which will wrest power from the capitalist ruling class and undertake the construction of socialism.

The Communist Party

The pro-Soviet Communist Party of Quebec (PCQ) is the oldest of the left organizations in Quebec. From a highpoint in 1947 of 500 members, the party declined to about 50 in the early sixties following the Stalin revelations and the Hungarian events of 1956, as well as a split around the national question in Quebec.

Today, the PCQ has about 250 members, a youth wing, and a bi-monthly paper **COMBAT**. It was established as a distinct wing of the Communist Party of Canada in 1965 and recognizes the right of Quebec to secede. Moreover, the PCQ has quite a few union activists, in the United Electrical Workers, for instance. The party favors a broad unity of all "progressive forces", including the PQ left-wing, to create what party leader Sam Walsh calls "a mass federated labor party".

Trotskyists

There are now three Quebec groups claiming to be Trotskyist. The Trotskyist movement borrows its name from Leon Trotsky, co-leader with Lenin of the 1917 Russian Revolution. Trotskyism stands as a Leninist movement in political opposition to Stalinism.

The key demand put forward by Quebec Trotskyists is that the unions create a labor party as a transitional stage toward the mass revolutionary party of the future.

The Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere (LSO), founded in Montreal in 1964, is affiliated to the United Secretariat of the Fourth International through its Canadian section, the League for Socialist Action Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere.

The recently formed Groupe socialiste des Travailleurs Quebecois is the group in Quebec which represents the other main international Trotskyist tendency which split in 1953 and which is known as the Lambertists after the name of its leader, Pierre Lambert, of France.

Yet a third group, the Groupe Marxiste Revolutionnaire (GMR), hatched from a split in July 1972 in the LSO. This group publishes a paper, **LA TAUPE ROUGE** (Old Mole), and is attached to one of the factions within the Fourth International together with its English-Canadian affiliate, the Revolutionary Marxist Group.

Of these three Trotskyist organizations in Quebec, the LSO is the oldest. It has an affiliated youth group, the Ligue des Jeunes

→p. 2

The journal **En Lutte** participates with the Comité de Solidarité in a demonstration in support of a strike against US-controlled Québec-Téléphone which took place last October in Rimouski, Quebec.

22

Socialistes, and publishes **LIBERATION**, which has a circulation of 5,000.

Traditionally the LSO has critically supported the NDP federally. The LSO also presented its own mayoralty candidate in the Montreal municipal election this year.

The LSO has been very active in campaigns for a French Quebec and in the Common Front for the Repeal of Abortion Laws.

The Comite de Liason appeared at the beginning of September. It calls for the united action of the trade union federations with the perspective of achieving an organic unity from which would emerge a labor party.

Although their English-Canadian co-thinkers support the NDP because of its working class base, they believe a distinct labor party is necessary in Quebec.

Maoism

Maoism is a recent phenomenon in Quebec. The "official" organization, The Communist Party of Quebec (Marxist-Leninist) (CPQML), was founded in 1970 and is affiliated to an English-Canadian Maoist party of similar name. It reserves its sharpest attacks for the pro-Soviet Communist Party. Its principal slogan seems to be: "Go to the factories to join the broad masses". In this year's federal elections, it fielded 36 candidates in Quebec — "revolutionary candidates", it explained, "to denounce bourgeois elections."

The CPQ(ML) publishes **POPULAR CANADIAN DAILY**, a bi-weekly, in French and English editions as well as weekly editions in Greek and Italian. Its theoretical organ is called **MASS LINE**.

The Maoist En Lutte group, which was formed around the bi-weekly journal of the same name has been in existence now for one year, under the leadership of Charles Gagnon, formerly of the FLQ. In supporting workers' struggles and "workers' committees" within enterprises and various districts, the Gagnon group hopes to prepare the ground for construction of a mass party.

During the Firestone strike in October 1973, this group inspired the creation of the Workers' Struggles Solidarity Committee which had the goal of organizing support activities for strikes and "the most advanced" struggles. The Struggles Committee, is a regroupment of twenty groups, mostly students.

Worker's Committees

Two years ago, Workers' Committees appeared as cells within the unions in a dozen factories in the Montreal region with the aim of gathering together the most combatative workers. The committees originated in an experiment in the implantation of university-educated socialists into the working class. The official organ of the movement is **L'UNITE** and its theoretical organ is **MOBILIZATION**.

Many of these militants totally reject unions, above all the QFL, that "notorious American union federation". But some have revised their position: they recognize that the union structure is the only organization of the workers. Some now occupy executive positions in their unions.

The general line of the committees is to support union demands while pointing out their limitations and putting forward socialism. They also advocate 'disaffiliation' from the Canadian Labour Congress and the AFL CIO, to be replaced with "rank and file unity."

The Union Movement and the Labor Party

The Comites Populaires were set up by the CNTU to unite union and non-union workers autonomously around concrete struggles all over Quebec. Despite slow progress, a recent CNTU convention made the task of creating these Committees a priority.

The Socio-Political Action group (CEQ—Quebec Teachers' Federation) grew out of a network of left activists grouped around the project of creating a labor party. This group was the driving force behind the CEQ's celebrated manifesto "The School at the Service of the Dominant Class". They are members of the Comite d'action sociale which is organized in almost all of Quebec. Their candidate was defeated by 10 votes for one of the executive posts at the recent convention.

The Coalition of Union Militants was founded last May in Montreal, shortly after the disappearance of FRAP by Lambertistes and FRAP militants. Its aim is to form an organization of exchange and liaison which unites unionists of the three union federations on the following positions: 1) uneonditional defence of the accomplishments of the workers' movement; 2) unity and independence of the union movement vis-a-vis existing parties in order to eventually build in Quebec a workers' party under the initiative of the unions.

forward 15 Dec 1974

Toronto civic elections show need of NDP label

by John Morgan

Results of the small 28 percent turnout in the December 2 civic election saw little change in the relationship of forces between the so-called "reform" and the old guard forces on City Council or in the suburbs. There was a general lack of issues and little political meaning in the campaigns.

In an effort to run a no-issue campaign, bourgeois party forces generally muted their differences. Neither did the labor movement do more than endorse a series of reform and NDP candidates

The NDP, while not running on its party label, nonetheless was a factor in the elections. The desire to make an identification with the party was rendered more difficult by the fact that Liberal and Tory candidates did not present themselves openly. But well-known NDP candidates were supported by the party's constituency clubs and polarized the campaign to some degree. In Ward 6, for instance, Dan Heap's attempt to fill out a slate with aldermanic candidate Sparrow and two candidates for Board of Education, was successful.

The campaigns of the left outside the NDP were largely ineffective

The Communist Party ran a bloc of 7 candidates, tying them into an opportunist slate including reform and old guard candidates alike. One CP candidate's brochure stated the need for "a broad coalition of progressive forces (which) could bring new policies to City Hall and open up a bright new civic future for Toronto."

The League for Socialist Action (LSA) attempted to present its nine candidates for mayor, aldermen and Board of Education as a slate, but with no tie-in with candidates of the NDP or those endorsed by the Toronto Labor Council. The LSA slate confronted the labor candidates in splendid isolation, attempting to pose the LSA as an alternative. The excuse that there was no NDP label was the basis of this sectarian attitude which included, incredibly, running in the very wards which the NDP was contesting most seriously. It's one relatively high vote — that of Pam Dineen for School Trustee in a ward where the NDP-reform slate held strong — was obviously the Liberal-Tory vote, cast as a protest

The Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG) on the other hand limited itself to a rather ludicrous poster campaign against the neo-fascist Western Guard mayoralty candidate, whom it pictured next to Hitler and an innocent sewer rodent, as if the far right posed a danger in the election. Even though the neo-fascist mayoralty vote was higher than that of the LSA's, this testifies less to the strength of the right than to confusion from the NDP leadership's failure to pose an alternative.

The revolutionary left vote did not reflect the general protest sentiment that saw "radical" reform candidates like Sewell propelled to Metro Council, and the defeat of Karl Mallette in Scarborough, which he himself attributed to the hard line he took against the demands of striking Toronto Transit drivers last summer.

The response which the NDP and labor-supported candidates received only poses more sharply than ever the need for a full labor slate, including contesting the mayoralty, on the party label. An NDP City Hall for Toronto and the suburbs is a must to build a mass base to lift the NDP to power in the province, and in Ottawa.

forward #5 Dec 1974

Socialist League forum on Soviet prisoner Moroz

By Adrian Firan

The Toronto Socialist League held a forum recently on the plight of the Ukrainian dissident Valentyn Moroz. The speakers were Anhelyna Szuch, editor of the Ukrainian student newspaper **Student** and a member of the Committee for the Defense of Valentyn Moroz; Myroslav Shkandrij, past editor of **Student** and a member of the Committee to Defend Soviet Political prisoners; and Ihor Petelycky, a fieldworker for the Ukrainian-Canadian University Students' Union (SUSK).

Shkandrij began the discussion, outlining the development of the Soviet dissident movement since the fifties. Ihor Petelycky followed with a discussion of Moroz' work. While in his writings Moroz emphasizes the question of the development of an autonomous Ukrainian culture, his support for the peasant and worker uprisings of 1961, the program of which was for national self-determination as well as socialist democracy, indicates that the slanders of the Communist Party press are false. They claim that Moroz is a Nazi.

It is for his belief in the right of the Ukraine to national self-determination — a principle of Leninism — that Moroz now lies near death in Vladimir prison, as Anhelyna Szuch pointed out in her talk.

Moroz has been on a hunger strike since July 1 in protest against the brutal treatment which he has received at the hands of the Soviet authorities. Since the beginning of his hunger strike, Moroz has been subjected to forced feeding and denied adequate medical care.

A recent telephone interview with Soviet physicist Andrei Sakharov revealed that Moroz will probably die before the new year unless he is transferred to regular hospital. In protest, the Committee for the Defense of Valentyn Moroz is calling a demonstration for December 10, Human Rights Day. For further information, call 667-6064.

BOOKS ON THE MIDEAST

THE JEWISH QUESTION, a Marxist interpretation, by A. Leon.....$2.95
ON THE JEWISH QUESTION by Leon Trotsky.....70¢
HOW CAN THE JEWS SURVIVE, a socialist answer to Zionism by G. Novack.....30¢
ISRAEL, A COLONIAL SETTLER STATE? by Maxine Rodinson.....$1.75
WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST, the socialist view by Frankel, Roberts and Thomas.....70¢
BURNING ISSUES OF THE MIDEAST CRISIS by Peter Buch.....45¢

Order from: FORWARD BOOKS
85 King St. E.,Toronto, Ont.

(Feb. 5, 1974)

Vote Hugh Dowson-trustee

The key question of leadership of our local, meaning by what policies our local should be guided, has yet to be decided.

The executive posts are all open in Thursday's run-off.

The still unexplained three-way split in the old executive has now resolved itself through the formation of an unprincipled combination around the presidential candidature of Brother Johnston. The players have only changed positions. The team is the same old team.

Brother Archie Wilson's slate, still largely intact, can quite easily be filled out in the run-off with independents such as myself to give our local a completely new leadership.

The need to dump the old leadership was proved once again at the recent special membership meeting when they confronted us with a proposition that we modify our union certification clause in order to allow sub contractors to enter the plant to overcome an alleged schedule crisis.

The old executive unanimously endorsed the negotiating committee's proposal that we allow U.S. workers, hired by a private employment agency, to work here in Douglas where we fought for and suceeded in establishing complete recognition of the UAW. We fought for this, and with some bitterness, in contest with another union. And the old executive offered to break our certification as a gesture of good-will to the company.

Evidently the old executive accepted as good coin the company's argument that there is a crisis in the company's production schedule--although we have no jurisdiction in this area--and jumped to fulfil their wish.

There is no reason why our local union should extend special privileges to a group of U.S. workers or anyone else outside the context of our existing agreement. However if anyone presents himself or herself at the employment office we should extend the warmest fraternal greetings and bring them into our union.

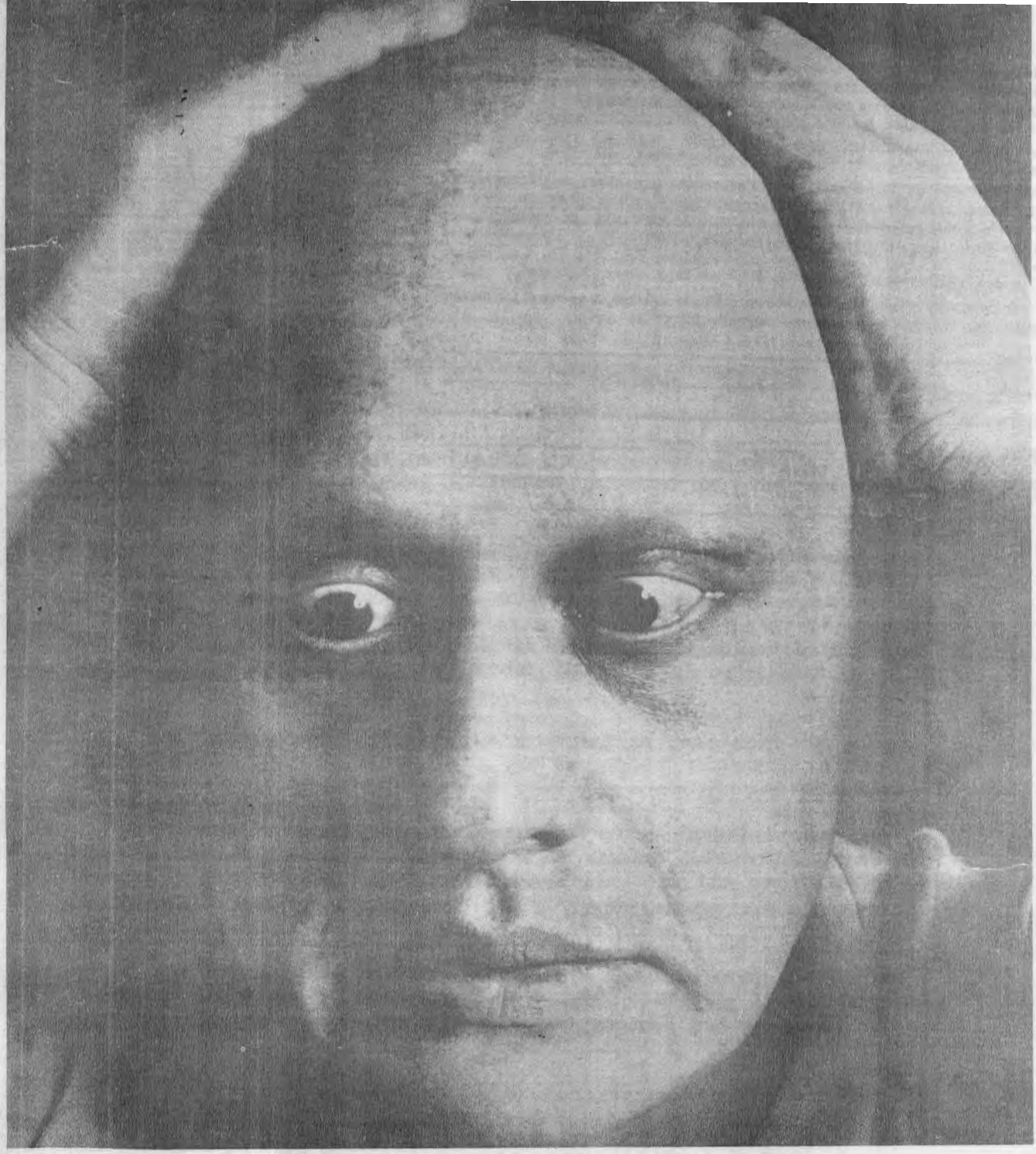
It so happened that this question, unlike so many others we only hear about, came before the membership--if only at the very last moment. And we were able to defeat yet another bad proposal of this leadership.

Now why not complete the process by defeating them in their effort to continue in office as the leadership of our local.

You can do this by voting for me and other members of the Archie Wilson slate--and putting this new leadership into office.

Printed by voluntary labor.

Vote for a change-vote the Wilson slate
Vote Hugh Dowson-trustee



My gawd, don't be left out !

Vote for a change - vote the Wilson slate

Vote Hugh Dowson - trustee

(Found in 1974)

PALESTINIAN SELF-DETERMINATION AND JEWISH SURVIVAL

Inspired by the Vietnamese revolution, many people have come to support the anti-imperialist struggles of the Third World for its self-determination. Today the peoples of Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau-Cape Verde continue to struggle for their right to determine the character of their relations with other nations and the nature of their own social system.

The Middle-East is no exception. There, the anti-imperialist struggle is being led by the Palestinians in their bid for self-determination.

The Middle-East crisis is not founded on the conflict between the national rights of two equally oppressed nationalities, the Jews and the Palestinians as "left" Zionists so glibly claims. The Jews living in Israel are not being oppressed by the Palestinians; it is rather the Palestinians that have suffered at the hands of the Israeli State which expelled them from their land and refuses to allow them to return.

Zionism twists the legitimate consciousness of national oppression held by Jews into an escapist and exclusivist mentality. Contrary to the heroic tradition of the Warsaw-ghetto Jews' uprising on April 19,1943 against Nazi anti-Semitism, the Zionist organizations during WW II refused to fight for the right of European Jewery to escape to the country of their choice. They acquiesced to the closed-door, anti-Semitic immigration policy of the U.S., British, and Canadian governments thus placing sectarian Zionist interests above the life and death needs of the Jewish nationality.

Zionist ideology postulates that all non-Jews are conscious or potential anti-Semites. Thus, Zionism places the blame for the genocidal oppression of Jews on non-Jews in general. Similarly, the Palestinians are considered to be culpable in Jewish oppression, while the social system, capitalism, which breeds racism because of its inherent structural inequalities and imperialist character, remains blameless. Ironically, Israel today practices racism against both the Arabs and the black-skinned Jews in Israel.

Zionism, both left and right, is in fundamental contradiction to Palestinian self-determination. In place of the "law of return" which grants any Jew the right to immigrate to Israel and become its citizen immediately, a real solution of self-determination would have to grant that right instead to every Palestinian.

But, lately, under the impact of the October war, Israeli leaders have begun to mention the possibility of a mini-state of the West Bank and the Gaza strip, supposedly as a means of satisfying Palestinian national aspirations. This proposal is in the same vein as the scheme of General Spinola of Portugal who offers the Portuguese colonies "self-determination" on the basis that they remain integrated with Portugal-a prospect which actually denies self-determination. Any Palestinian mini-state would inevitably become a mere puppet-state of Israel and a concentration camp of Palestinians. Even this "concession" was wrenched from Israel because of its present profound crisis in its attempt to hold out the possibility of a peaceful future solution for its own population and to satisfy U.S. interests in the Arab pro-US camp. The crisis of Israeli society today is based on a shocked recognition that Israeli invincibility is a myth. With 55 days of fighting on the Syrian front, with a rejection of the mini-state by the Palestinian Liberation Organization and with the crisis in American society itself, Zionism holds out little hope but a continues and increasing number of casualities.

Rejecting any notion of driving the Jews into the sea, the Palestinian liberation movement has proposed that the feasible solution would be a unitary, democratic and secular state as the alternative to themselves being driven into the desert. Before Zionist colonialists came and began to buy Palestinian land from absentee landlords and proceeded to expel the peasants living there, Jews and Palestinians lived in harmony together together for many hundreds of years and there is no human reason why it could not be so again. The alternative is continual war. The way forward to Jewish survival in the Middle East is through Palestinian self-determination.

(SOCIALIST LEAGUE 363 - 6755
85 King St. E. M5G 1G3)

Undated - c. 1974

METRO CENTRE What's at Stake?

At the same time that received wisdom dictates 25% of income to be an acceptable level for housing costs, a full 83% of Toronto's families are shelling out more than this. Twenty-three percent of us are paying more than 50% of our income on housing. The fact that 27.4% of all social assistance recipients are among those paying more than half their income for a roof over their heads (probably leaky roofs at that) makes it clear that it isn't the rich who are going hungry to pay the rent.

In the midst of this crisis, the big business interests behind the CPR-CNR consortium represented by Metro Development Corporation, have the gall to propose developing 187 acres of prime land for a publicly financed convention centre and a transportation-business complex. They have agreed to provide housing — high rent, prestige apartments with few family units.

To add insult to injury, we are being asked by Bud Andrews, president of this towering corporation, to shell out somewhere between $30 to $90 million of public money to finance this scheme. On top of this, the railway magnates are threatening to halt any devlopment of this part of the city through the land they control as blackmail to push through their own designs for the area .

This shouldn't surprise us. Contrary to Pierre Berton's recent attempts to make the railway barons into national heroes, it is a proposal completely consistent with the long series of railway rip-offs that working people have been paying for since Confederation.

NATIONALIZE ALL RAILWAYS

An important part of any attempt to stop the Metro Centre as proposed by the Metro Development Corporation and to ensure that the priority of rail transportation as a whole is geared to meet the needs of farmers and workers across the country, is the call for the nationalization of all railroads.

Even with the present system of privately owned railways, they can't get away with their scheme without the consent of all levels of government. Forty acres of Metro Centre land is controlled by the federally directed Harbour Commission 55 acres are owned by the Provincial Government and 13 acres in the key Union Station area are owned by Metro. We must demand of all levels of government that they use their power to tie up the railroading through of this project.

Stephen Lewis has called on the Ontario Government to use its control of ownership of core Metro Centre land to extract major concessions from the developer, including a commitment are unlikely to be forthcoming from the Tory Government.

TORIES COMPLICIT

These front-liners for private property are not about to ask the federal government to nationalize anything nor are they likely to foil the plans of the developers. For example, Richard Bohmer, lawyer for the Metro Development Corporation, is one of the main fundraisers for the Ontario Conservative Party. Nor is Andrews, corporation president, without his friends in the cabinet — and to quote Sewell, "we all know that friends don't let down friends."

If as we know, the Tories are knee deep in this Metro Centre muck, can we expect our reform-minded Mayor, a staunch and longstanding member of the Conservative Party to lead the fight against this latest tale of the old Canadian epic of public subsidy of private wealth ? While it is true that under the public spotlight Crombie decided to endorse Sewell's motion for a city-financed feasibility study of current Metro Centre plans, we also known that he has voted to deny the right of the public to have an input into the whole planning process.

The development of the Metro Centre area should provide us with jobs and with publicly-financed, tenant-controlled shelter at prices we can afford. The only people who can guarantee that these aims are carried out in the Metro Centre project are the working people of Toronto. Crombie's unease with involving this 'public' in the planning process can only be interpreted as an expression of his desire to serve, albeit with a soft touch, the Big Blue Machine of which he is a part.

HIGH STANDARD PUBLIC HOUSING

Nationalization of the railways under workers' control; a Metro Centre which provides high standard, publicly financed, low cost housing — these will not be accomplished by a Tory Mayor and a loose coalition of fairweather reformers.

Because the problem involves all levels of government and inevitably involves taking on the power of big business, it is only the NDP which can begin to tackle the solution in all its far-reaching dimensions. This involves a challenge to New Democrats. We must call on the NDP, the only party responsible to Canadian workers, to carry forward its program on all levels of government, including the municipal.

This is a long range task which will remain incomplete, in fact, until we have won a complete restructuring of our whole society. In a few months, however, there will be a civic election — and that's a place to start. If we are to win a Metro Centre which meets the needs of working people of Toronto, we must fight for a labour city hall.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE
for further information on our study groups, contavt us; 85 King St. E. Toronto 363-6755

INFLATION IS NO JOKE!

Updated c. 1974

Did you know? In Toronto you can still buy a 3 bedroom house for less than $18,000 - Just ask Eatons elevator operator to let you off at Toyland. And of course, you can still buy a good $75 suit for less than $350. (Gary Lautens, Toronto Star, May 2/74)

Few people are laughing. Wage earners see their take home pay shrivel in purchasing power. Pensioners and others on fixed incomes experience real hardship. The cost of living rose 9.1% last year and the upward spiral continues. By March '74 all goods and services were at a level 10.4% higher than March '73. Meanwhile the average base rate of wages for organized workers increased by only 8% in '73. Unorganized workers recieved a much smaller increase than this. On the average real wages declined last year by almost 4% from 1972.

But this gloom did not extend to the board rooms of the large multi-national corporations. Their overall profits were 50% higher last year than in '72. Business in Canada was good. Profits of Falconbridge rose 770% - from $5.5 million to $47.9 million. Gulf showed a 58% increase - $64.4 million to $101.7 million. George Weston (Loblaws etc) had an 86% rise - $18.6 million to $34.6 million. Two other champions in the profit race were Markborough Properties with 516% and Great Lakes Paper with 375%. Even Trudeau had to admit, in his throne speech, "I find it appropriate at this time to destroy the myth that the cost of labor has been a dominant factor in contributing to the present inflationary round in Canada."

But he would not admit that the cause of inflation is deeprooted in the profit system and the governments that serve it. Of course the drive for increased profit is the driving force of inflation - and government policy plays a major role. The policy of deficit financing exacerbates inflation by pumping money into use while no goods are created to meet this increase in purchasing power. There is no need for the government to opperate on deficit financing while huge corporations are paying virtually no taxes. But taxing the corporations is not why Trudeau is in business.

Governments in the service of capitalism also go in heavily for military expenditures rater than social spending that actually adds value to the economy. The "defence" budget last year was $1.9 billion. This was one of the largest items in Trudeaus '73 budget. We must have this money go to socially usefull expenses and withdraw from the imperialist networks of NATO and "peacekeeping" that are inflating our economy.

U.S. inflation is even worse than Canada's because of the hugh expenses of their imperialist wars. Because they dominate our economy we are forced to import this inflation and more. The deficit in trade balance with U.S. imperialism compounds Canada's problem with spiralling costs. We must break with the U.S. economic empire and institute policies towards eradicating capitalism in Canada.

TO FIGHT INFLATION

(1) A sliding scale of wages - increases equal to the real rises in the cost of living.

(2) A rent freeze and massive programs of land banking and the building of publicly owned housing. An end to speculation through government ownership.

(3) Nationalization of the food industry, both retail and distribution. Consumers control of prices by "watch dog committees" of local shoppers.

(4) Nationalize oil production and distribution - roll back the price of oil products.

(5) A 100% tax on resource profits. In '73 the average mining corporation paid only 10%.

(6) Elect an NDP government. The key problems of inflation cant be solved by Liberals and Tories. Nor can they be solved by asking Canadian workers to moderate their wage demands. Only the NDP has the potential to start to attack the roots of the problem because it is the only party based on the working people and owing no allegience to capital.

Socialist League, 85 King E, 363 4755

(Found in 1974)

the argentine workers must not be crushed !

The international capitalist medai has devoted considerable attention to the February 27 police "revolt" in Argentina's Cordoba State. The police coup, officially sanctioned by President Juan Peron, has resulted in the formation of a new, extremely reactionary state government and the purge of hundreds of allegedly "Marxist" left Peronists from the local adminstration. In effect, Cordoba has been placed under military rule.

The location of what history may record as the first shots of the Argentine counter-revolution is no accident. Cordoba, Argentina's second largest city and a centre of heavy industry, has long been a bastion of the most combatative sectors of the Argentine working class. It was the semi-insurrectional mass revolt of the Cordoba workers and students in 1969, the famous "Cordobazo", which opened the pre-revolutionary political crisis which has gripped Argentina ever since.

The Cordoba putsch is the clearest indication to date of the transformation of the Peronist regime, which came to power with tremendous mass support last year, into an instrument of repression which seeks to crush the mass movement. The question of a general armed confrontation between the Argentine masses and the allied forces of the national bourgeoisie and imperialism is now placed directly on the agenda.

ORIGINS OF THE PRESENT CRISIS

In the 1940's, the international economic and political situation permitted a major economic boom in Argentina. Peronism first emerged in this context, as a specific form of bourgeois nationalism which could both bolster the position of the national bourgeoisie while winning mass support from the working class. It was in this period that the working class won important victories, including the establishment of one of the most powerful trade union movements in the world.

But the economic base for this equilibrium disappeared by the mid-50's, with the rejuvenation of the European economies and the decline of agricultural prices on the world market. Argentina's socio-economic situation began to rapidly deteriorate, opening up a crisis which has persisted to this day:

Peron fell in 1955 and was followed by a series of bourgeois governments in the context of a protracted assault on the working class. The military finally assumed direct control with Ongania's coup in 1966.

'May 1969 marked a radical turning point. In Rosario, Cordoba and Tucuman, the masses mobilized in the most gigantic movements Argentina had ever experienced. The Cordobazo was a major test of strength between workers and students and the military dictatorship. It was the outbreak of a new stage of impetuous upsurge that created a prerevolutionary situation by shattering the balances established in 1966. This rise took the form

notably of repeated explosive mobilizations both in the traditional epicenters of the workers movement and in the less radicalized cities, of hard-fought battles in vanguard workers sectors as well as general strikes that involved greater numbers than even before in Argentina and in Latin America (November 1970 and September 1971). In this context the class struggle began to give rise to armed struggle, and urban guerrilla warfare spread to all of the country's important centres. General Lanusse pointed to the importance of this struggle when he said: "We are confronting enemies different from the traditional type since they are now coming from the population of the country itself. This is why all services should join in a common struggle...I believe we are at war."' (The Political Crisis and Perspectives for Revolutionary Struggle in Argentina, Resolution, Xth World Congress,Fourth International). The various bourgeois attempts to contain and repress the mass movement failed. As a desparate last resort to avoid an open civil war, Juan Peron, now in his late 70's was hauled out of mothballs and reinstated in office.

Mass loyalty to Peron, indeed his virtual deification by the working class, did not disappear during his 18 year exile. The main peculiarity of the Argentine labour movement historically is the contradiction between the tremendous strength, organizational solidity and mobilizing capacity of the Argentine working class and the fact that it has remained under the hegemony of Peronism, a current which represents the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie. The majority of the workers voted for the Justicialista Party (Peronist) in the 1973 elections and perceived Peron's return as a tremendous victory for themselves.

But the objective basis for the class equilibrium personified by Peron, which prevailed in the 1940's, no longer exists. The present intentions of the Peronist leadership were made very clear by the murder of 30 persons and the wounding of hundreds of others when goons hired by Osinde, the Justicialist Minister of the Interior, opened fire on a mass demonstration held to celebrate Peron's return. Peron's first formal act after assuming office was to order the suppression of the ERP (Revolutionary Peoples' Army) which had led the armed struggle against the previous military regime. The troops and police used to maintain order on the assembly lines have been withdrawn from the factories -- and replaced by armed goons of the right-wing Peronist union bureaucracy. Hundreds of vanguard worker militants have been kidnapped or murdered in broad daylight. "Left" Peronists have been systematically purged out of the government, the Civil service and the trade union apparatus and replaced by elements whose views border on fascism. The Cordoba coup is only the most extreme manifestation of this process. It is leading very rapidly towards the establishment of a reactionary dictatorship whose objective function is essentially the same as those which prevail throughout most of the rest of the continent.

THE DIALECTICS OF PERMANENT REVOLUTION IN LATIN AMERICA

The political evolution of Argentina over the last five year is a striking confirmation of the two central theses of the Fourth International concerning the revolution in Latin America.

First, the role of the Peronist government confirms the complete bankruptcy of any notion of "national", "anti-imperialist" "stage" of the revolution, in which the masses must ally with the "progressive national bourgeoisie". In reality, the liberation of Argentina from the imperialist yoke and the struggle of the Argentine workers against capitalist exploitation will be completely intertweined throughout the revolutionary process. Previous attempts to ally with "progressive" sectors of the bourgeoisie or its army have led directly to military coups and major repression in Guatemala (1955), Brazil (1964), Bolivia (1971), Uruguay (1973) and the recent tragedy in Chile.

Second, the profound social and economic deformation and instability of semi-colonial Latin America excludes any protracted period of bourgeois democracy, of the peaceful and legal expansion and strengthening of the mass movement. On the contrary, any serious mobilization of the workers and poor peasants will lead, directly and in the short term towards an armed confrontation with the repressive forces of local capitalism, backed by the whole of world imperialism (including the Canadian bourgeoisie, with its extensive holdings in Latin America). It is because of these social and political factors that the arming of the masses is posed as an immediate task. Furthermore, this implies that revolutionaries cannot limit their efforts on this question to abstract or purely literary propaganda, but must rather take practical initiatives in action to ensure that the masses do not face the repressive forces of the class enemy unorganized, unarmed and defenseless.

FOR A WORKERS' VICTORY IN ARGENTINA

The strategy of the Fourth International in Argentina is determined by its analysis of both the general dynamics of the Latin American class struggle and the specific conjunctural situation in Argentina. The main aspects of this strategy are:

-- the struggle for the political and organziational autonomy of the working class. The working class must withdraw its support for the Peronist government and all other representatives of Argentine and world capitalism. It must achieve the complete independence of its trade unions from the bourgeois state. In opposition to reactionary Peronism, revolutionary Marxists advance the concept of a Revolutionary Workers and Popular Government, based on the self organization of the masses and excluding all representatives of the bourgeoisie and the military.

-- the reestablishment of the lost gains of the lost gains of the working class and the conquest of new ones. The struggle against inflation, capitalist economic and industrial rationalization and reduced living standards has a directly political significance because it involves the defiance of the "social pact" recently signed by the Government and the Peronist trade union bureaucrats. The necessary demands include workers' veto power over various aspects of production, including speed-up, lay-offs and dismissal of militants, a sliding scale of wages under workers control to fight inflation and the opening of capitalist accounts to workers and housewives committees.

-- The democratic self-organization of the workers. An effective struggle against the Government, the bosses and the bureaucrats requires the formation of democratic assemblies in the factories and the communities. Such vehicles are an embryonic form of workers' power and can be transformed into the structures of a future proletarian state power. The struggle for workers'democracy in the trade unions is also necessary and has important political consequences in Argentina where the integration of the union bureaucracy into the bourgeois government is a key form of exercising class domination.

-- the preparation of the masses for civil war. In the first instance, this means organizing for armed self-defence against the union bureaucracy goons, the cops, the army and the fascist gangs. It means the arming of strike pickets, the formation of workers' militias, and the formation of workers' commandos which have an offensive as well as a defensive character. The first responsibility for the practical initiation and organization of self-defense lies upon revolutionaries, who must also tirelessly explain that it is only one step towards the struggle for the seizure of power. One way of concretizing this perspective is through reprisals by vanguard militants against the most hated hangmen of the regime and other forms of armed propaganda.

Needless to say, the Fourth International rejects any action that the armed action of a few hundred revolutionary militants is sufficient to overthrow the capitalist state. We reject with equal vigour, any reformist illusions about the "peaceful and democratic road" to socialism, or the spontaneist illusion that somehow, on the brink of counterrevolution the masses will magically and spontaneously find effective means to defend themselves, without prior organized preparation of both a political and practical character. The recent bloody defeat of the Chilean workers speaks eloquently on this score. The principal goal of all minority military initiatives must be to "arm the masses with the desire to be armed".

-- the construction of a revolutionary workers' party, the indispensable instrument for victory. The political and military and organizational tasks which are posed by the present phase of the Argentine revolution can only be accomplished by a revolutionary party based on the program of Marxism and rooted in the struggles and mass organizations of the working class, a party with the prestige and influence among the masses necessary at the decisive moments of the class struggle. The combativity of the broad worker and student vanguard, which numbers thousands and thousands of militants, is insufficient unless it is structured into a cohesive and politcally coherent revolutionary organization. There was no lack of heroic militants in Chile ready to fight and die for their class and for socialism. What was lacking was a correct revolutionary leadership as an alternative to the vacillation and betrayals of the reformists of the Communist and Socialist Parties, whose 'peaceful road' led the workers into a bloody trap.

This general strategic perspective of the Fourth International is presently being implemented by our comrades of the Fraccion Roja (Argentine sympathizing organization of the Fourth International), who seek to convince the advanced workers of this program and to build a revolutionary party through their propaganda, their agitiation and their armed actions. Peron's recent public denunciation of the Fourth International indicates that he and his class understand the threat that such initiatives pose to Argentine capitalism.

THE TASKS OF THE CANADIAN LEFT

Canadian radicals failed to build an effective and united campaign in response to the Chilean coup. A major portion of the responsibility for this lies with the Communist Party and the Waffle, as the two largest organizations on the Canadian left. The CP actively sabotaged attempts to build such a campaign and theWaffle refused to participate in any actions at all. But the left as a whole must critically examine its failure to take the measures which the Chilean events required. (We include ourselves in this respect). The experience must not be repeated.

One of the reasons for the non-response of the left to Chile is a vulgar notion, prevalent in radical circles, that "Canadian workers aren't interested in such issues" that solidarity campaigns around international questions are "moralistic", etc.

It is necessary for socialist to assimilate a basic fact which the imperialists have always understood and which determines their strategy: the class struggle is fought in a global arena. We don't just struggle to defend the revolution in other countries to demonstrate our good intentions or moral purity, but because the triumph of revolution or counterrevolution in one part of the world has repercussions for the imperialist system as a whole.

With the exception of Vietnam, probably no country in the world at the present time has more strategic importance than Argentina. It is now the only major Latin American country where a reactionary dictatorship has not been installed. A defeat for the Argentine workers would represent a tremendous victory for imperialism in its efforts to contain the Latin American revolution. But a revolutionary breakthrough in Argentina would have precisely the opposite effects. It would sound the death-knell for the military regimes throughout the continent, especially those in Chile and Brazil (imperialism's local pinch hitter). A proletarian victory in a highly industrialized country like Argentina would also have an exemplary character for workers in the imperialist countries as the latter themselves move into deepending social crisis.

A militant international campaign can have a real, if modest, effect on the relationship of forces in specific countries. The world-wide Vietnam solidarity movement certainly narrowed imperialisms' margin of maneouvre and contributed to Nixon's evacuation of ground forces. The build of the much-needed material aid to the Chilean resistance is coming, not from the Moscow and Peking Bureaucracies, but from the Chile solidarity committees around the world.

For all of these reasons, it is necessary to prepare now for a united militant campaign as the crisis of bourgeois rule in Argentina reaches new heights.

The political basis for such a campaign should be a clear platform of solidarity with the Argentine workers. All socialist, working class and student organizations who accept such a platform must be allowed to freely participate, regardless of their particular point of view. The political independence of the participants and their right to freely criticize one another, both inside and outside the framework of such a united front must be guaranteed.

PREPARE NOW FOR THE COMING CONFRONTATION IN ARGENTINA!

ARMED STRUGGLE: THE ONLY ROAD TO WORKERS' POWER AND SOCIALISM!

VICTORY TO THE ARGENTINE REVOLUTION!

REVOLUTIONARY MARXIST GROUP

SYMPATHIZING ORGANIZATION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

(Subscribe to the OLD MOLE, paper of the RMG, P.O. Box 1183, Stn. 'Q' Toronto)

On the question of the possibility of unity of Canadian Trotskyist tendencies

(Document by R.D. found in Fall 1974 archives, as 1 p. typed and 2 pp. handwritten notes)

(Page 1 typewritten)

The concepts of democratic centralism are such as one could anticipate that the unity of the Canadian Trotskyists would be assured – that is barring differences that would involve fundamental matters of principle.

Does the division of Trotskyism between the LSA-LSO and the RMG-GMR *(Revolutionary Marxist Group, English Canada; Groupe Marxiste Révolutionnaire, Quebec)/* and the SL *(Socialist League, initial name of the Dowson group which split from the LSA-LSO, later known as the Forward Group) involve fundamental matters of principle? As important as each group thinks its differences with the others (are), and these should be seriously examined so each can honestly weigh the matter, we think that it can even now be said, that even at this time – less than a year later (except for the GMR split), no matters of fundamental principle were involved at the time of the respective splits nor have they surfaced since then. On the contrary, it would seem probable that each with its own experience in the case of the RMG-GMR that the differences do not involve fundamental problems of principle and in the face of the problems in the radicalization tend not to be moving away from one another but tend while not expressing it, to be moving closer to one another.*

In this respect the matter that must be noted first and foremost is that the contemplated split in the Fourth International did not take place – *(the following scored out –ed.:* thus we have the situation in Canada where there are two Trotskyist groups in a common international organization *(with)* only one of them – the LSA-LSO – considering itself to be in a factional relationship with the other.

(Handwritten section:) The concepts of democratic centralism are such as one could anticipate that the unity of the Canadian Trotskyists would be assured – that is barring differences that would encompass fundamental matters in principle.

Did the split of what now constitutes the RMG involve matters of fundamental principle – did those that preceded it – the split of the GMR from the LSO, the RCT *(Revolutionary Communist Tendency)* from the LSA – and then following it the split of the LPT *(Labor Party Tendency)* and the formation of the Socialist League?

This matter is of key importance in order to grapple with the possibility of the unification of at least the majority forces of Canadian Trotskyism in the future – including those of the Labor Action Group.

Posing the question this way would suggest that any investigation should commence not with the LPT split and the formation of the SL but with the split in the LSO-LSA which has resulted in the formation of the GMR.

This split is important to look into because the RCT while in the LSA was so bold as to identify itself with the GMR which already constituted itself as a public organization independent of the LSO-LSA. It openly challenged the LSA majority leadership that the LSO was completely degenerate. At one stage it advocated the dissolution of the LSO and it would seem logical although it should be checked into, *(given)* the recognition of the GMR as the Quebec homologue of the LSA.

It is not possible to understand the recent series of splits in the Canadian Trotskyist movement

without grappling with the crisis in the F.I. *(Fourth International, in Europe)* and the impact of the crisis not to speak of the intervention of the majority leadership of the FI on the Canadian Section.

What was involved in the GMR split? There is no question that there is a long record of differences in the LSO. The personality of Michel Mill played a large role in this. But a larger role was that of the 1969 World Congress (of the FI) and the divisions that revealed themselves at that congress, particularly around Latin America but also *(around)* the Political Resolution – which resolution we were subsequently assured signified a turn in the International.

Overclouding the 1970 congress of the Canadian Section was the threat of split (and the) expulsion of the Mill tendency. As Dowson (I -ed.) was coming to return to Toronto following a series of meetings in Montreal, Young handed him a draft of a document. While waiting for the bus the former perused the draft and was startled to learn that Young was calling for the expulsion of Mill. He hurried back to Young to protest and demand its withdrawal. Did the Ligue Communist *(LCR-France? –ed.)* act as a goad to the Mill current or *(as)* a pacifier at that Congress. The fact is that contrary to what everyone thought was the direction of the Mill group – its conduct at the Congress underwent an apparent transformation.

(end of notes)